JPRS 76457

19 September 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1814

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ROLE OF PARENTS IN TRANSMITTING RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS TO YOUTH VIEWED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 11 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Ramazan Sherja: "Self-satisfaction Reduces Vigilance"]

[Excerpts] Along with the great transformations in the field of the awareness of our people, there are still, here and there, some individuals who preserve in the recesses of their awareness some "traces" of religious views and of backward and reactionary old customs. These remnants, often unintentionally, through discussions or concrete actions, are transmitted by them to children or youth who, if they have not established healthy scientific convictions, often believe them as the truth.

For example, in a plowing brigade in the Lunik agricultural cooperative in Librazhd District, a cooperative member did not eat his lunch with his comrades during the lunch break. It was learned that he was celebrating Ramadan. This caused great anxiety in the mass organizations and in the Democratic Front, youth and women's organizations among all activists. It was learned that the parents of the cooperative member fasted and that they told him that he should do so also since it "was good for him." Either because he did not want to go against his parents or because there were defects in his ideological development, he did not find the strength to oppose them and he submitted to the will of his parents.

There are many cases where family members and sometimes even the youth observe backward old customs not out of conviction but out of respect so as not to oppose their parents. Therefore, as the party teaches us, it is essential that we carry on a united front in close collaboration with the mass organizations, the family and the school.

The remnants of old customs which are still observed in some families often act as obstacles in the affirmation of the new socialist law. For example, influenced by an old superstition, several cooperative members in the area of Krrabe did not wash their clothes on Tuesday because that day is unlucky. The activity of casting light on old habits, especially among some unformed youth in this area, involves another aspect: during their school years, they seem to be very active in the struggle against religious ideology; they propagandize the new, they combat old customs

and they take part in various activities. However, when they leave school, they have nothing to do with this activity, they do not speak up in meetings, they wear veils over their heads and conform to old customs and religious prejudices. These attitudes are often instigated by a fanatical parent who, when he finds the proper "terrain" and a situation where the new ideology has not been adequately rooted, speaks in the name of the "morality" of religion.

The youth organization in Funar has had difficulties in getting participants for an artistic group. Some girls who just graduated from 8-year school did not join the group. Some activists said that "fanaticism was operating here and there and we were hindered by the fact that the girls were influenced by some parents who are still contaminated by the spirit of remnants of religious ideology." The worst thing is the fact that these phenomena are not combatted constantly, every day, but are recalled only when backward customs reappear and, at that time, the struggle against them begins again and the work of persuasion and clarification intensifies. But, the old, conservative viewpoint, often under the cloak of "what is good" for the girls, is doing its evil work. Therefore it is essential that a healthy educational milieu be created in the family and that the terrain be cleansed of petit-bourgeois and religious vestiges.

But, of course, this does not happen by itself. It requires systematic, persistent work, healthy convictions, close collaboration with the mass organizations. Only in this way will such harmful influences be cut off and the "bridges" for the movement of religious ideology, disconnected, especially in the younger generation, whom we have the obligation to raise ideologically pure, morally healthy, and worthy to build socialist society.

CSO: 2100

HOXHA SENDS CONDOLENCES TO ACADEMY ON CABEJ DEATH

[Editorial Report] According to the Tirana weekly DRITA of 17 August 1980, Professor Eqrem Cabej, linguist, teacher, member of the Academy of Sciences and of its Presidium, died on 13 August 1980 at the age of 72. DRITA publishes the following telegram from Enver Hoxha to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences on page 1:

"Premature death has removed from your midst one of the most eloquent representatives of science, culture and our national education, the member of the Presidium Prof Eqrem Cabej. With his death, science has lost a person with rare creative skills who put his entire knowledge in the service of the people and of the socialist fatherland.

I express my deepest sympathy to you on the occasion of this sad event.

Prof Eqrem Cabej worked untiringly and with great passion for the development and the advancement of the science of Albanian linguistics and of our people's education. His scientific research activity, especially in the area of the origin of the Albanian language and the genesis of the Albanian people, is rich and comprehensive. It is of national and international importance. With competence, he made a valuable contribution to the documentation of the originality of the Albanian language and of the indigenous character of the Albanian people in their present-day territory.

The work of Professor Cabej in the field of linguistics remains an esteemed treasure in the hands of present-day and future scientists and scholars in our country."

CSO: 2100

FAILURE TO IMPROVE MINERS' LIVING CONDITIONS DEPLORED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 18 Jul 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Struggle Against Any Negligence in Regard to the Continuous Improvement of the Living Conditions of the Workers of Mines, Geology and Sawmills"]

[Text] Everything created and produced in our country is made in the name and in the interest of the working people, because there are the workers who, with the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in their hearts and minds, break through the mountains and blockades, build socialism and continually invigorate the economy and the defense of the country.

There are wonderful achievements in our country: they show the great concern of the party and of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for our working people. Everywhere in our country, various social and cultural projects, dwellings, creches and kindergartens for children, cultural houses, shops, vacation centers for workers and pioneers and centers for relaxation, education and entertainment have been built and are being built. Substantial funds are allocated each year for these purposes. The expenditures for financing socio-cultural projects amount to 1,919,000,000 leks in the state budget for 1980.

In this framework, the funds have been approved and dwellings, dining halls, baths, shops for communal services, centers for relaxation and education and many other socio-cultural projects have been earmarked for construction this year for providing treatment to and supplying the working people of mines, geology and sawmills--the difficult and remote sectors in which a heroic working class works. The construction of these projects is planned on the basis of coordination between the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Domestic Trade in regard to their needs for these projects.

But, what is the situation? One half of the year is already gone and the work has not begun in the two-thirds of the projects to be constructed. Even in those projects, where work has been started, the progress is slow and it is not known when they will be completed. Three years have elapsed since work was started on the construction of a dormitory at the Thirre

sector of the Spac mine in Mirdite District and only three trucks of bricks have been dispatched there. Work has not started yet for the construction of the bath and dressingroom at the Manze mine in Durres, the laundries in Bulqize, Kalimash and in other places, the food store in Memaliaj, the dining hall and dormitory at Uji i Ftohte in the sawmills in Pogradec, and the dormitories of the sawmills in Tropoje, Kolonje, Skrapar and so forth. We can enumerate a number of other projects, but we think that what we have already mentioned is enough to show that the great task, which deals with the further improvement of the living conditions of the workers of these very important sectors, has been neglected. The party teaches us that the struggle for fulfilling the economic tasks cannot be detached from the struggle for fulfilling and continually improving the living and working conditions of workers.

Why, then,do all these things happen? These things happen because the working and living conditions of the workers of these important sectors and because the problems are not correctly understood and not properly considered from the political and ideological aspect by some administrations and, concretely on these occasions, by the responsible directorates of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, by some executive committees, such as in Mirdite, Diber, Librazhd, Pogradec and other districts and by some leaders in the mines, such as those in Bulqize, Kurbnesh and Memaliaj and the geological enterprise in Rubik and of the sawmills in Librazhd and so forth. All the opportunities exist to complete these works on schedule. The government has granted the funds and has planned the materials. Only the correct evaluation of the problem is lacking. Comrade Enver teaches us: "...that the method and practice of some cadres, especially of the government and economic organs, who are interested in everything, in bolts and in cows, but who forget about the essential and decisive factor in everything--the human being, his well-being, life and health, his technical safety, hygiene conditions and in a cultured environment, and his relaxation, education and entertainment--must be severely criticized and seriously condemned."

Nobody is allowed to fail in implementing the tasks dealing with the working and living conditions of workers. The party demands that each manager execute his tasks with responsibility and with complete party-mindedness. For this, all the political, ideological, economic, financial and organizational conditions exist. With a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist understanding of these problems and of the lives of the people, all the obstacles and difficulties will be overcome. Therefore, it is here that one finds the source of the problem: the correct understanding [of things] is lacking; there are delays and open manifestations of bureaucracy; and this situation must be fought with force. This is a repeated criticism and, when it is so, then, measures must be taken to prevent it from happening again. The failure to correctly understand the problems dealing with the lives of the people is the expression of bureaucratic manifestations and of the class struggle. In those enterprises, where we find these unpardonable negligences, our trade union organizations, strongly relying on the directives of the party and on the laws of the state must stop and analyze the problem, and the directors of the enterprises and the people entrusted with these problems, up to the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Domestic

Trade, must be made to face responsibility and must give account to the workers. The trade union organizations must stir up workers opinions against these negligences. To fail to construct the projects stipulated by the state plan for the continual improvement of the living conditions of workers means to violate the party line. He who struggles for the fulfillment of the production plan and forgets his duties in regard to the well-being of workers is not a good leader. A good leader is the one who cares for both, because they are inseparable from each other and, above all, at the very end, there are the workers who fulfill the plan and, the greater the concern for the workers the more assured the fulfillment of the plan.

But, why do the trade union councils in districts and the trade union organizations in these enterprises merely look at this unsatisfactory situation? When the government allocates the funds and when the projects are designed, then, the projects must be constructed on schedule, otherwise, we have violated the state laws and, for each case of violation, the trade union organizations must speak up loudly. In this work, we must struggle to execute the tasks assigned by the most recent plenum of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, which analyzed the work of the Trade Unions in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee. The plenum recommended that "the trade union organizations must struggle with greater force against negligence, carelessness and bureaucratic attitudes which violate the rights of workers and of the working people which are guaranteed by laws." It is not fair at all to wait for the others to do this for us, or for recommendations to be given from above for this purpose. The tasks are implemented every day; therefore, their pursuit must also be carried out every day and every hour. The voice of the working people must rise immediately against every instance of negligence in order to prevent it from becoming greater, so that everything will be as required by the laws of the state, the Labor Code, as the party and Comrade Enver teach us.

9150
CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

SECURITY CORPS BUILDING INAUGURATED--Inauguration of a 12-story building for scientific and pedagogic studies took place at the VS SNB [College of the National Security Corps] complex in Prague 4-Lhotka on 29 August 1980. The opening ceremony was attended by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary J. Havlin, CPCZ Department Director J. Majcharcik, CSSR Minister of Interior J. Obzina, CSR Minister of Interior J. Jung, and other officials. [Text] [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 30 Aug 80 p 1]

CSO: 2400

GOVERNMENT, PARTY OFFICIALS REASSIGNED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, 1980 pp 18-19

[Article: "The Politburo's Resolutions Concerning Changes in Personnel"]

[The Politburo has appointed the following members of the Working Collectives attached to the Central Committee, the Youth Committee, and the Physical Education and Sports Committee attached to the Secretariat:

PARTY CONSTRUCTION WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Karoly Nemeth

SECRETARY: Janos Peter

MEMBERS: Tibor Baranyai, Sandor Borbely, Gabor Deak, Gyorgy Hegedus, Ignac Horvath, Miklos Horvath, Sandor Jakab, Vera Lajtai, Janos Lukacs, Istvan Petrovszki, Sandor Somogyi, Imre Takacs, Istvan Takacs, Istvan Toth, Janos Toth, Jozsef Torok, Tibor Ujhelyi, Imre Vertes, Laszlo Zavori

ECONOMIC WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Ferenc Havasi

SECRETARY: Bela Szikszay

MEMBERS: Miklos Ajtai, Jozsef Bognar, Ivan T. Berend, Marton Buza, Bela Csikos Nagy, Lajos Dozsa, Janos Fekete, Istvan Foldes, Karoly Grosz, Istvan Hagelmayer, Istvan Hetenyi, Lajos Hethy, Robert Hoc , Laszlo Horvath, Mihaly Komocsin, Imre Kovacs, Ferenc Kozma, Istvan Kortvelyes, Sandor Lakos, Istvan Martos, Endre Megyeri, Tamas Nagy, Rezso Nyers, Jo sef Nyilas, Mrs. Ferenc Nyitrai, Tibor Palankai, Bela Rabi, Aladar Sipos, Imre Szabo, Jozsef Szabo, Kalman Szabo, Imre Vincze, Lajos Zelko

COOPERATIVE POLICY WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Antal Kovacs

SECRETARY: Ervin Zsuffa

MEMBERS: Gabor Nagy Apati, Ferenc Biro, Erno Csizmadia, Ferenc Dobi, Istvan Gergely, Gyorgy Gondor, Istvan Gyuresi, Lajos Hegedus, Janos Hont, Jozsef Molnar, Imre Molnar, Miklos Nagy, Sandor K. Nagy, Vilmos Saghy, Aladar Sipos, Istvan Szabo, Istvan Szlamenicky, Lajos Rev, Pal Romany, Mihaly Vasko, Miklos Villanyi, Mrs Sandor Tuza

CULTURAL POLICY WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Miklos Ovari

SECRETARY: Ferenc Molnar

MEMBERS: Gyorgy Aczel, Miklos Almasi, Eva Ancsel, Ivan T. Berend, Otto Bihari, Jozsef Fuleki, Tibor Huszar, Gyorgy Jozsa, Istvan Kiraly, Andras Knopp, Mihaly Kornidesz, Bela Kopeczi, Sandor Lakos, Jozsef Lukacs, Pal Pandi, Imre Pozsgay, Ferenc Ratkai, Peter Renyi, Mihaly Simai, Miklos Szabolcsi, Jozsef Szigeti, Ferenc Tokei, Dezso Toth, Ivan Vitanyi, Adam Wirth

YOUTH POLICY COMMITTEE

CHIEF: Karoly Nemeth

SECRETARY: Gyorgy Petti

MEMBERS: Janos Barabas, Gabor Borbely, Lajos Csendes, Janos Gosztonyi, Tibor Halasy, Bela Hary, Mrs. Gabor Kohanyi, Istvan Kortvelyes, Laszlo Marothy, Istvan Olah, Ibolya Ovari, Gyorgy Sikula, Ferenc Solyom, Maria Szabo, Miklos Szabo, Vilmos Thernesz

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORTS COMMITTEE

CHIEF: Mihaly Koron

SECRETARY: Jeno Kovacs

MEMBERS: Laszlo Ballai, Janos Borbandi, Istvan Buda, Lajos Csendes, Gyorgy Fejti, Laszlo Fodor, Maria Hanga, Lajos Kiss, Dezso Papp, Sandor Racz, Miklos Raft, Ferenc Solyom, Mrs. Istvan Szucs, Laszlo Varga

The Politburo has appointed the leadership of the MSZMP group of the National Assembly:

SECRETARY: Mihaly Korm

MEMBERS: Antal Apro, Miklos Horvath, Imre Katona, Mrs Gyula Szentistvanyi

In addition to the already announced decisions concerning personnel, the Politburo has made the following resolutions:

It has relieved Andras Korcsog of his position as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs, and has approved his appointment as state secretary for cultural affairs.

It has relieved Ferenc Ratkai of his position as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs, and has agreed to his appointment as a deputy minister for cultural affairs.

It has relieved Ferenc Molnar from his position as state secretary for cultural affairs, and has appointed him as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs.

It has relieved Andras Knopp from his position as a deputy minister of educational affairs, and has appointed him as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs.

It has relieved Sandor Boros from his position as a deputy minister for cultural affairs, and has appointed him as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda.

It has appointed Istvan Marko, a section chief of the Central Committee's Department of Political Economy, to be deputy chief of that department.

It has relieved Gyula Mona of his position as deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda, and has appointed him as a deputy rector of the Central Party School.

9271
CSO: 2500

WORKERS REACT TO DIRECTIVES WITH CONFUSION, ANGER, CYNICISM

A Mixed Picture

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 19 Jul 80 p 16

[Article by Peter Szekulity: "Three Rounds into the Air?"]

[Text] An industrial city somewhere in Hungary--a few monuments, three factories, half a dozen bad girls, 9,000 noisy students, a ramshackle hotel, an IBUSZ [tourist and travel] office and early closing hours. Green peas cost as much as in Pest; new potatoes are more expensive. Since fall you have to pay to park on the square; most of the foreigners loitering in the shops are Poles; the jokes, made up in Pest, have a materialistic view and concern "domestic" matters.

Have you heard this one?

A bigwig takes home 34,000 forints, the Angry Man explains. Then he tells his wife: Woman, put it in the cabinet but don't touch it because they may want it back.

A cabaret story?

Its tone gives it away. You may have heard it 3 years ago in some program. "There are all kinds of people, they talk," the policeman says and laughs with a full mouth. "Anyway, I am not on duty," he says and takes out a ten forint note. The bartender stops him, "Forget it, now I'll pay."

Uncle Sogorka tears off a bunch of parking coupons without counting, "However many there are."

He stutters, "C-c-count them. Its O K-k-kay."

"And the tip?"

Beat, Uncle Sogorka stands and waves hesitantly at the departing Volga. "You see," a man with a beard behind me says, "the differences in property

are increasing." The girl beside him says, "This is not a property difference, this is standard of living, you nut." "You don't understand," the beard answers and embraces his girlfriend.

The girl shivers, "Breathe some warmth into me."

They are out of spirits. Keszeg, the misshapen one, crosses the square. He laughs and puts the pocket radio to his ear. "Stay fresh," the market woman says, and sprays beer on her seedlings.

At two thirty Pal Balogh is waiting in his apartment. One and a half rooms with all the comforts, and the house and yard. He and five others got it from the council in 1960. Since then the prize has shrunk, the man is outgrowing the apartment.

Balogh had worked until two and he is mad.

"Rejects come to 17 percent. Three is permitted. The man in charge of usable scrap begged me with hands together: Pal, my friend, do something. Me? I am only a worker."

"They say you are an outstanding expert, only a little stubborn."

Neapolitan biscuits are served in a little dish. Aranka, the oldest girl, encourages me, "Take some!" I crunch some lemony biscuits and drink ice cold raspberry juice.

"I have had it up to here," my friend says, clenching his fist.

His wife turns toward him with an anxious face.

"You crazy old man! Did they entrust the factory to you?"

He answers quietly, "That's the trouble, that they didn't entrust it to me."

"What would you do?" I ask lightly.

"What? Pow-pow-pow-pow. Three rounds into the air, to scare them."

"Who?"

"Everybody who steals, cheats, lies, bamboozles, loafs."

"They would slap your face, you are just running your mouth." the woman warns.

"Slap? Who is slapping whom here? They robbed the automatic vending machines. And what do you think happened? Instead of trying to find out

who did it they took out the vending machines. In our factory the situation of the NATIONAL ECONOMY really worries the bigwigs. But about what happens in the factory? They are silent about that. It is as if the national economy had been entrusted to them, but not this cruddy factory."

"What are they silent about?"

"What's wrong. That's what. About why they do not dare to make demands! Why are they afraid?"

"Who is afraid?"

"Both the workers and the leaders."

"You will be cutting off the tree from under you if you fight with each other," I pontificate.

"Out, hell. Since last year we have been blowing, we had to do everything.. And what changed? Nothing has changed. Everything is the same as it was and everybody is where he was. There's lots of people carrying signs and even more word farters. What do we have to do with it? But who cares? They nod or shout and everything remains as it was. Only the prices change."

"Should I speak in your name?"

"You want to ruin everything?" He grimaces, his face is distorted and he pulls at his hair. He mimics a common acquaintance, Daniel, a barber who was made a technical supervisor, who is always afraid he will be dropped and when dismissal threatens always reports in sick and goes to a hospital for a checkup. He is a trained gold brick.

Pal Balogh stares into space.

"Nothing can be done."

Now he reminds me of the scrawny English teacher on television who, in cork hat and with net, hunts for the peacock butterfly--in vain. He is a bitter man, accusing the system of weakness, counting the days, and if he could be would have retired already.

I wanted to see the factory from inside.

"I haven't been here long," the softspoken party secretary says the next day, and introduces a lively looking main department chief. In general he speaks as follows:

"The comrade is a journalist. He would like to talk with a few workers. Quality, productivity, thrift, etcetera," he says and leaves his desk and sits with us, but to the end acts as if he was not there.

The main department chief squirms and wipes his glasses like Vitray on TV. Both of them murmer the same magic words, they are speaking in economic policy. This is the fashion now in Hungary. Yesterday Uncle Sogorka stuttered to the icecream girl on the corner about the negative aspects of stockpile management, the butcher at Hidegkut gave a lecture on economizing on imports while slicing ham, especially emphasizing the replacement of raw materials of foreign origin. The man selling soda in Hangod surprised me with economic policy quotations, instead of words from dance tunes, so I would consider him cultured.

I know the lesson, and so does the main department chief. We perfectly intone the 130 magic words of economic policy. The party secretary sits quietly in his armchair. If he is giving grades, I think, he will give us both good marks.

The main department chief looks up: "What's this, you're not writing?"

I ask courteously: "What should I write?"

He goes on with disapproval: "We know the given situation better and it is in our common interest to avoid mistakes. No?"

"But, of course," I say and I think: Time is passing, the sermon better be over soon. "What has changed?" I ask him with pen raised, but dreamily, as if it just came into my mind.

"We have become more strict. Yes, more strict," he says emphatically.

"Strict. In what sense? Maybe you mean taking the vending machines out of the factory?"

He just goes on. He says nothing definitely, and takes back four of every three sentences. In the meantime he makes a call to get me a guide and spells out what is worth seeing. He is wasting time and I am afraid that I am going to be caught in the network of offices. My attention is wandering. I ask tiredly: "Is my guide coming?"

"We have sent for her."

"I've got to go."

He winks.

"Ah, well, does the comrade director know you are here? In any case it would be proper for us to talk to him. A mere formality." He reaches for the phone with an uncertain movement.

"Isn't the comrade secretary enough for you?" I ask.

He is confused. He doesn't know what to say.

"So," he drops his hand and shrugs, what do I care.

Someone calls. The lady comrade has come.

"Let's go, let's go, take a good look around," the worry-burdened main department chief sends me off.

Antal Gulyas, the shop chief, is escaping from me. I go in and he goes out and he evaporates like camphor.

I finally catch him and start talking.

"Work time is 8 hours. Do they work the whole time?"

"Yes, indeed."

"When is the breakfast break?"

"From seven fifteen to seven thirty. A quarter hour--10 minutes, 20 minutes, whatever it takes. The shop clerk writes down what people want and goes to the buffet to get it. An unskilled worker helps bring the stuff."

"Every morning?"

"Every morning. People have to eat."

"That's true. But in that case they do not work 8 hours."

He is silent, and pulls his neck down between his shoulders. A man, his hair thoroughly greased, grins through the door. I know him, it is Keszeg, the misshapen one. He wants a light. Comrade Gulyas lights his cigarette and the greasy one wanders off. The shop chief gives me a painful grin.

"You saw?"

"I saw."

"He farts in his pants but he is a WORKER. With capital letters, a WORKER. He has little talent but his self-respect is magnificent. This morning I said to him: What's happening, Keszeg, are you waiting for the pohtographers again? He objected and sputtered: How are you talking to me, am I what you are? I thought: No indeed, Shithead! But I didn't dare say it. As long as I cannot hit such a shithead in the face with the truth, and with his work book along with it, just so long there will be no order in Hungary and there will not be 8 hours of work. Seven maybe, or six, but not eight. That's what I say and I will eat my hat if you write it," he bellowed.

"Others have written it already. This requires no courage. It is action which requires courage."

"Good shot. Only here everyone always has his thing. There is always an explanation and excuse for everything. It is not only the leaders who are appointed, even the models are nominated in a campaign."

He shrugs.

"It is a bitter struggle. I have an unskilled worker here, one of those 'uh, yeah' types. A person would think he couldn't count to three. I swear, this guy figured out how to rob the vending machines. But who has the energy to prove it and take action in hundreds and hundreds of cases."

What can be done?

"Didn't I tell you so?" Antal Gulyas says and turns away.

My guide takes my arm, "Come, I will show you the future, the great assembly hall."

In the anteroom of the new gate a man in a velvet jacket is holding up the wall. He is waiting for his brother-in-law from the package room.

The way he feels at home is fascinating--and the fact that he picked working time to cultivate his kinship relations. My Gos....

Did they send for the brother-in-law? They did. I laugh. This is the situation here with us. There is always somebody waiting for somebody at the gate. And somebody always sends word from the gate. With the inimitable familiarity of the peasants of yesterday they now wait, not at the end of the field, but in the cool of the factory gates to talk about the christening, the engagement and the use of green manure with the old buddy, the happy father or the father-in-law chief agronomist, who now learns everything from the son-in-law.

"Where can I get some coffee here?"

I had hardly said it when Auntie D. cut across the smooth factory courtyard toward the foundry. She cried out eagerly: "How many sugars?" The service is quick and obliging. One can get a black coffee more quickly in this factory than in the elegant Eva espresso on the main square.

"Do you always have it?"

"If not, we make it. How long are you staying?"

I know. Hanna A., one of the warehouse workers, makes the best coffee. She works a mini-espresso for her own profit, and asks three fifty for a double. She has been warned a few times to quit it. Only she is a sign carrier and word farter; she doesn't quit it. The business runs all day; she plugs in in the morning and doesn't unplug until evening. She has 18-24 customers, loading workers, cart operators.

Six or seven are lounging in front of the warehouse.

"How much do you brew every day?"

She reflects a moment about how much to say.

"Twenty or twentytwo doubles."

I think, only one kick in the pants would make her come to her senses. Now it is too late. She is of protected age and everyone is afraid of her mouth. I think about Beni Boldizsar. This Boldizsar was worn out from walking and went to the refrigeration plant in B. as operator of the weigh house, but they offered him one of the fish shops too, where there was no business all year long. Beni Boldizsar considers the link position to be an allowance. "The workers march, but we carry the sign, we are the enthusiasm." I recall Balogh's words. "What do we have to do with it?" he said.

The assembly shop is a spooky pantomime hall.

The factory is working on a western order. The customer looks for faults in the final product with a magnifying glass. Thanks to this these workers, even those who have only read about it in books, also hate capitalism. The capitalist quality control official is merciless. This is no good, this is no good... even goods which look perfect to the naked eye but which are not perfect for some reason are thrown away one after another.

"There will have to be some accomodation here. If we don't talk to the customer someone else will," the shop chief explains.

Some of the work is jobwork. Sandor H., semi-skilled worker, says grinning: "I am a guest worker here, but I don't like it a bit."

"Our chief goal is to reduce waste," the shop chief emphasizes.

There are all kinds of people. How to reduce waste? One recommends punishment, another raising the pay, a third patient enlightenment work. Pal Balogh recommends three rounds in the air and I, as a fifth recommendation, recommend a psychologist. I believe people must be relieved of tension and of the dread which is acquired, which is born with us, if waste is to be decreased.

"Organizing the work processes would not hurt. But tell me, isn't it odd that we must learn from the capitalists what 100 percent perfect work is?"

"They are teaching us," the shop chief says with a grim face. "Anyway, we are not learning from the capitalists but rather from the most developed."

It is a fitting rebuke.

The uncle of my girlfriend Marlen is a skilled worker in the FRG. The tempo there is simply breath-taking. After supper the uncle drinks half a bucket of beer and falls into bed. This is the price there of a car, color TV and a trip around the world. Workers, officials, professors and everyone who gets paid all work as hard as they can.

Do we need this? My heart says no; my brain says yes.

Marlen says with alarm: "I'll never get to ride in a Volvo."

I look around the pantomime hall with a rather guilty conscience. Have we thought this through? To lead in a socialist manner and to make strict demands at the same time--isn't this squaring the circle? People have both hearts and brains. Somebody tell me, which should Antal Gulyas, the communist shop chief, listen to there in the plant, to the one or to the other?

The woman guarding the new gate growls at an approaching slovenly woman: "Dear sister, you want something perhaps?"

She begins to make excuses.

"Goodgye."

The woman guarding the gate chases her away and sits back down with satisfaction. Put an end to the in-and-out. Last year virtually anyone could sign people out; this year only two people have this right and the number of those leaving on their own has been reduced from 45-50 to 2-3. The woman at the gate repeats what the main department chief said, "We have become more strict."

It is scary. Is it right to say such things?

It is evening in the cantine and the Angry Man is storming against the laxity. The bartender scratches his back and says wisely: "This noon I was listening to the radio. They said effort was in vain if the conditions did not exist, nothing could be done."

"Do you believe in God?" a middle aged man asks. The bartender wipes his hands and turns to me: "Mr. Editor, you are now my guest, but tell me, why are you upsetting my friend? If he makes money you badger him for that and if he doesn't make any money you badger him for that."

The policeman answers: "Although I am not on duty, still the press is very powerful."

Very powerful? The Angry Man looks up with emotion and says in a solemn voice: "Well, then, turn on your radio. Quickly. Let's hear the news."

Individually Tailored Solutions Needed

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Istvan Matko: "Scaring People"]

[Text] "Three rounds into the air, to scare them," says a worker named Pal Balogh in a report in ELET ES IRODALOM. "Because people are stealing and there are too many sign carriers and word farters and trained goldbricks. And everything stays the same. Only the prices change." The reporter presents this Pal Balogh as a bitter man; and if he could he would have retired already.

What the man in the report feels--that is his own affair. It is also his own affair what he thinks proper to end the problems. For example, the three rounds into the air in the title, or a psychiatrist or work organization or agitation. It appears that the reporter is sympathetic with scaring people. It is true that he does this carefully, because he puts a question mark after it. And I may take it seriously even if he does not. I confess that I do not like expressions of opinion which leave doubts because if someone publishes something it is no longer a private affair. As a result I am involved, we are involved, and we have the right to know what is being proposed to me, to us, what they want to call our attention to. because of these doubts, among other things, I do not take the three rounds seriously. Let them go into the air, past my ears.

But there are things which cannot be escaped so lightly. The report describes a plant where they manufacture much scrap--where there is a private coffee shop being run for private profit. Where they basically misinterpret worker self-awareness and worker status and do not dare fire a worthless loafer because they are afraid of somebody or something (?). And where, by the way, they are working on a western order, where "the customer looks for faults in the final product with a magnifying glass, thanks to which these workers, even those who have only read about it in books, also hate capitalism." For the sake of weaker spirits the report underscores this with emotional content, with the words of semi-skilled worker Sandor H., "I am a quest worker here, but I don't like it a bit." It is unfortunate that this certain Sandor H. does not say in more detail what he is against. Is it that he must meet strict norms and must work more precisely? Or that he must do jobwork on a western order? Or is he protesting out of self-esteem, "just because"?

There is no answer--only one sort of explanation. There is talk of somebody's uncle who is a skilled worker in the FRG, where the tempo is "breath-taking." The uncle drinks half a bucket of beer after supper and falls into bed. Everyone there who gets paid works as hard as he can...

Ah, now I understand. Is this the alternative which Sandor H., for example, rejects? This would be capitalism--the breath-taking tempo, to quote the report. "I look around with a rather quilty conscience.... Have we thought this through? To lead in a socialist manner and to make strict demands at the same time--isn't this squaring the circle?" the reporter asks.

Much comes into my mind in connection with this poetic question. For example, that something has been hopelessly misunderstood here. One can hardly base a judgment--at least a worthy one--on this; things can hardly be decided on this basis. No, because I have been hearing this not rarely recently, from here or there, similar "clever, concerned" people who appeal to public opinion and emphasize the "doubts." Thus: Does a strict demand for performance suit the spirit of socialism? Do the strict quality and quantity norms and distribution according to performance suit our historic aspirations and goals? In this case--the "breath-taking tempo"?

I have a modest observation. In my opinion, when one says "socialism", when one builds and cultivates socialism and at the same time demands and works strictly and distributes on the basis of performance, even works sometimes with breath-taking tempo, one is not squaring the circle.

It is true that in order to understand this one must start from the real facts, from an understanding of political-economic laws. One must not start from chance, vexed impressions, from the pretended wisdom of kibitzers, from what seems to be or from an emphasis on primitive questions. This would provide no way to evaluate what it is that characterizes the industrial production of developed capitalist countries today (which the report tries to do in order to scare people). It is sufficient to recall that one does not have there a self-serving campaign which ignores economic considerations. This no longer pays.... The mechanical production line of Chaplin's "Modern Times" is becoming as much a museum piece as the famous Model T Ford.

But what is more essential--it would be a mistake to equate efficient, strictly controlled production aiming at maximum achievement with capitalism.

If you will forgive the simplification, I mean by capitalism the exploitation of man by man, the unjust expropriation of the work of another. Productive, efficient creation of value is not (only) a capitalist category! It fits very well into the frameworks and circulation of socialist management; although there was a time when this was not seen so clearly as it is now.

We know very well that it is not easy to clarify concepts. Drawing conclusions and putting them into practice is even more difficult and more complicated. It has taken long years to prove that the ingrained reflexes, rules, customs and institutions are insupportable. Automatisms which had been believed eternal have been abolished. Who would doubt, for example, thatthe egalitarianism so often condemned in so many forums maintains its positions by the work benches, within the walls of offices--and deep in the souls of men?! Where do they accept with a self-explanatory shrug of the shoulders the fact that simply to maintain the standard of living already achieved it is necessary to work better and more productively? That even less may be created of what formerly there was more of officially.... We know very well that human interests do not adjust automatically according to the commands of time and social needs. There must be a struggle for this. Conflicts must be faced and battles won. In the social arena and in human thinking alike.

The struggle taking place in souls--the reporter feels this himself--requires many sorts of tools--a scientifically precise evaluation of the situation, the realistic experiences of the practice of socialist construction, a correcdt interpretation of world processes and communist steadfastness, just as much as flexibility in tactics. Passionate, critical and self-cricital debate or cool, temperate economic analysis, depending on the given situation.

Although the range of tools offers many other methods and tools in the interest of a solution, we must eliminate from this range those things which are obvious mistakes. Especially the apostasy which irresponsibly and light handedly would fire warning rounds into the air.

The task before us is so honorable and at the same time so difficult that we must spare ourselves superfluous fear. So let us be thrifty with gun powder. There is no sense in firing blindly. It would rob us all of too much energy.

0984
CSO: 2500

SHED DISENCHANTMENT, REBEL FOR RIGHT TO ACT, WRITERS URGED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 9 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Sandor Csoori: "Concerning the Plaintive Voice"]

[Text] I do not envy anyone who, out of obligation, curiosity or individual initiative, reads through our literary papers and journals week after week, month after month. It would be a demanding task simply because of the volume--but the emotional effects! Most of what appears--be it poetry, short stories, novellas, drama or articles--reeks of blood and gives off a foul odor, like meat in a can.

I am reading this week's ELET ES IRODALOM, the "light reading" paper of our intellectual life. I begin on the last page with a moving, colorful report by Peter Szekulity. His quick sentences seem to skate on the surface, but by the time a man is finished with them there is a bitter taste in his mouth. The world is a mere grimace. Confusion and impotence everywhere. A swindle, fruitless, a hip-swinging fiasco. Do those in the report speak of honor? The world is dandelion fluff blown in the wind. It was, it is not, seek it no more. The eye and the soul are empty and parrots speak of the weighty problems of society... What I might make of his lines, if I really tried, is that here to our left trembles a country worthy of a better fate, a distorted smirk at the corner of its mouth; an antispasmodic might help it but there is none at hand.

Szekulity packages his dejection so finely, with such educated distrinction in style, as if a cut-off pig's head were wrapped in tissue paper.

He does not want to pretty up reality, only to get it accepted. To make fit for high society a rumination over shocking things.

Let no one misunderstand; I am not barking at my colleague, I am only saying how well we have learned to formulate things and slip around in circumstances which are getting hard. The "literary pessimism" of the 1950's was a hanging crime. Admitted ill humor was treason. The present disenchantment, despair and beastly tone are the signs of moral behavior. Appurtenances of telling the truth. With the passage of time a softened

revolutionary spirit has become absolutely grand; we can even feel repugnance in a gilded language! We can dangle swamps and polluted continents on our arms like Juhasz and we will be acceptable, even fascinating, because of their scale!

But let us look through the paper further. A debate has been started on the situation of young writers. The tone of the contributors is just as veiled, wry and bitter as that of Szekulity. As if we were not reading debate articles but rather plaintive messages. Like a letter of Kelemen Mikes from some present day exile. "I am not a young writer," writes Gyula Kurucz. "Nor are the members of my generation. Ours is a generation tired out in struggles to survive, in resistance, in cunning and uncertainty. That literature is young the authors of which are truly young...."

The tone surfaces without apology. Because it has long been free to confess such things--to grumble, lament and mock, all day long. To admit our defeat; to admit that death is playing with us in the summer afternoons, that we are weak in resistance; but to ask for whom and for what we have remained spiritually rachitic is no longer recommended. And what is even worse, a voice which would call someone to account does not enter our minds.

Even going beyond the journals, independent authors also pile up a multiplicity of perplexing questions in work after work. The ruins mood of unassimilated, shameful, stupefying lives. He who has carefully read, for example, the novellas of Galgoczi and Hajnoczy, the dramas of Csurka, the meditations of Gyula Fekete or the sociographies of Moldova, written with the point of a knife, might be dumfounded by the mass of depressing phenomena, by the condition of public morale, morality and overthrown hopes. What crystalizes out as the sum of all their books is that the Hungary of the 1970's--despite the more optimistic counterpoints, the standard of living and the freer movement--is a country sick at soul. The neglected, the maladjusted, those who would destroy themselves reel through every stratum of society. The swindled, the confirmed alcoholics, the rejected suitors of socialism, the prematurely old, the hand wavers, the apathetic citizens who feel themselves to be lodgers in the country. Believers and attractive enthusiasts? There are none. Or if there are still a few, sooner or later the will, and for that very reason the musculature of hope, will curdle within them and they will recoil from themselves.

Moldova's latest book, "The Sacred Cow," can be regarded not only as a masterpiece but also as a work illustrating the psychological state of the country. Every line is about the textile industry; but the book itself is a good bit more than this--it is a devils' seesaw of hair-raising things turning in the din of futility. Iron workers, teachers, construction workers, nursery school teachers and office workers have snapped up a hundred thousand copies as if it had been suddenly permitted pornography, with titillating, roguish chapters.

What the shameless voracity of the readers discloses is simply that the thirst for social truths now stands where lurk the images and stimuli of a sexuality kept under wraps--it is a form of satisfaction to be permitted only to speak of them!

From time to time literature exudes from itself even the most bitter gall, but at such times the reader gets only as far as a "spiritual exercise," because at the very time reality is being expressed most nakedly he experiences the torture of knowing that one can speak, but one can hardly implement the words, the recognition. Such one-sided spiritual action only attens illusions, or makes the individual inhibited. As with the disorders of sexual life, it can cause confusion in our relations with the world also. For he who cannot exercise an everyday, rational speaking of the truth is gradually forced to avoid even obvious truths. He thus kills in himself every seed of communal life, communal feeling and communal undertaking and he necessarily beats about the bush. A man left to himself can get ahead only by selfishness, accomodation and compromise. This is the moment when society begins to crumble and fall apart into its individuals. I lie, I cheat, I am cunning, I wear a mask, I wave my hand and I adjust my future to no commonly approved idea but only to my own.

In this way the part is not a part; on the contrary, it remains a secret rival of the whole.

So one does not absolutely need another organized force for there to be a "dual power" in one country; it is enough to have a quarrel played out in souls. It is enough if the individuals--instead of open opposition--split themselves from the central will and set up in themselves another order of values from that of the official organs. Another order of values in work, in the concept of honor, in the wounded relations of words and actions. But mute criticism is only a partial solution because it will not lead to true victory, what remains will trip a man up; it leads to fatigue, apathy, barrenness, perplexity.

Let us not try to gloss over it; contemporary Hungarian literature gives a dismaying report on this social condition, this general state of health. Our bad dreams in which we weep over the early death of a friend or run naked through the streets with a knife; we drink, we rage, they put an oily rag in our mouths and then throw us on a truck among the dead fish.

Of course, our awakening to our psychological condition does not help much because we will continue to regard our neurosis as a given, just as the Eskimo regards the endless fields of snow.

I feel in my skin, in my nerves locked in a vice, that in the long run self restriction is also the restriction of being. A decimation of the varied possibilities of life. It is an idea which gives birth to boredom. The expanded re-production of the plaintive voice has become independent of our will.

As a writer and as a reader I note with alarm the sameness of contemporary Hungarian literature. Is some change approaching? Will someone write a book, will someone edit a journal in which something different will flare up beyond the production of truth for the warehouse? Strength, enthusiasm, some confession or desire increasing to intoxication? Something, be it super-human or sub-human, but which will break out of the internal infinity of the soul? Ady, Attila Jozsef, Moricz, Laszlo Nemeth or Lorinc Szabo gave us a personal gift because, breaking out of the frameworks offered by society, they always viewed society from the heights of human existence. Thus their plaint was not a mere complaint, but a view of existence. Their confidence was not a simplified confidence but rather a condition of the search for the salvation of man.

According to Ortega every nation has a different spirit. And so a different culture--let us add. Different feelings and a different system of recognition. This statement, which at first hearing sounds nationalistic, is nothing more than if we said, speaking of fruits, that this is meaty, this has seeds, this has a stone. Such a distinction in itself does not at all mean isolation.

At most it means self-identity, without which no people can live as an adult people.

I see our literature struggling in a condition of melancholy vegetation, achieving only half-successes even with its outstanding values, because if a nation is not a common undertaking then there is a reflex of uncertainty in its every movement. And in its spirit too.

The present regime has obviously and primarily economic goals. It believes that economic achievements will of themselves be transformed into national values. They will not be transformed! Indeed, it may happen that the well known example will be realized in our case--we sit with ill temper in the beautifully built house, we eat cold raspberry cream and listen to the news reports about our barrenness.

Going beyond the lamentations and the inventories of scandal, our literature, stewing in its own bitter juice, must learn to rebel in the name of life struggling for the right to act. Laszlo Nemeth teaches with the wisdom of life: "A man can be of use to the world in one way, if he comes to terms with himself."

Not only an individual needs self-identity--so does a nation and the literature of a nation.

8984
CSO: 2500

PROVINCIAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL TRAINEES ALIENATED IN BUDAPEST

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 7, 1980 pp 65-73

[Article by Ferenc S. Vidra: "Provincial Vocational Students in Budapest"]

[Text] The student hostels' task--especially as far as the vocational schools are concerned--is the stepchild of our professional literature in education, sociology and psychology. While, for example, the problems of boarding school education and of the overall problem of vocational training have for years been the focal point of research, we find only occasional professional studies dealing with this specific area. However, vocational schools have a tremendous role in the development of the world view, life style and perspective of youths from peasant rooted families and rural milieu, who are becoming city dwellers and workers at the same time. Practice, however, illustrates that those concerned are either failing to recognize this important role, or are attempting to set educational goals for themselves and serve unreal, irrelevant concepts. In this work I cannot even attempt to survey this unrealistic educational practice. My undertaking is considerably more modest. I followed 50 students from their selecting a trade to their becoming skilled workers. I sought to discover how much their lifestyles changed from the standpoint of one of its important constitutive elements: how their free time was spent.

The 50 students selected filled out questionnaires on three occasions: in September 1976, in their first weeks in Budapest; in the spring of 1978, in their second year; and in the spring of 1980, nearly one year after taking their skilled worker examinations. On all three occasions the gathering of data was supplemented by tape recorded in-depth interviews. Additional interviews were also conducted with residence masters, the director of the vocational school, parents and village teachers.

Characteristics of the Group, Family Background

The vocational school, in addition to providing instruction in a given field, also serves other social functions. It prepares one for the worker's life, itsocializes. It provides refinement and general culture. Since it is a mid-level training institution, it provides the opportunity for further

study. In the performance of all these tasks, it participates in the promotion of social mobility, when it provides urban work opportunity to children who were rurally raised, or when it provides a trade to the children of unskilled parents.

Of the 50 observed students, 33 studied construction industry trades (insulator, parquetry inlayer, mason, painter), and 17 studied wood working industry trades (carpentry, upholsterer). Of the construction industry students, more than half were from Szholcs Megye, more than a quarter were from Hajdu Megye and nearly 10 percent were from Bekes Megye. The remaining 10 percent were distributed from other parts of the country, but were chiefly from Pest Megye, and were mainly children of the "first generation" who had previously moved to the vicinity of Budapest. In examining the occupations of household heads, unskilled parents who worked in industry or agriculture were predominant. The fathers of only three children were skilled workers, and in only one case was the head of the family not a manual laborer. This was a mother who is an administrator, raising her child alone.

Although it would be incorrect to draw far-reaching conclusions from the data of our 50-person sample, it still appears--and other sources also corroborate this--that these students are in a multiple disadvantage situation among the already disadvantaged vocational students. They have a longer road to travel from the peasant background of their grandfathers and fathers to become skilled urban workers, and they have more obstacles to overcome. In such families the number of children is considerably larger than the national average. Only 3 students are only children, while 15 have 4 or more siblings. In the majority of the families the other siblings have not progressed beyond the life of a skilled worker either. We find secondary school graduates in only 2 families, and white collar employment among older siblings in only 2 cases.

For a long time, the inhabitants of less industrially developed areas have been looking upon the construction industry as the first stage towards their moving to the city. There are always openings in the construction industry, the work there is less frightening than in the factories, and they have acquaintances working in it who can help them in the initial difficulties of beginning employment. In such families the child, for the most part, clearly realizes as soon as he reaches the senior section, that his future is to go to Budapest to learn a trade. "It is not specific trades which attract them, but rather the skilled worker status which promises a secure existence," write Mihaly Csako and Ilona Lisko in their study analyzing the role of vocational school training in social mobility. We may add that the certain advancement is through the capital city's vocational training institute. Nearly free hostels, nearly free board, scholarships, social scholarships, travel home at reduced rates--all these are attractive to the parent. For the youths, however, the romance of the capital is the attractive force, since everything that counts comes from

there--this is where blue jeans may be purchased; this is where popular beat editions may be acquired; this is where the new films are first shown.

In most cases, the parents are happy to be relieved of the burdens of child rearing. This does not mean only financial burdens--although these must not be overlooked--but those of caring, providing and disciplining. Among our students, the number of those from divorced parents, orphans and semiorphans is considerably greater than average. Alcoholism and families in process of disintegration are common. It also often occurs that there are serious, difficult to discover tensions beneath the apparently orderly surface. In the group of 50 children, the parents of 9 are divorced. Of these, there was remarriage in 5 cases, and the mother is rearing the children alone in 4 cases. Being semiorphaned is also frequent. We have five families in which the father has died and the mother is rearing the children alone.

Mothers remaining alone without male support because of death or divorce, remarried parents in the crossfire of the cruelties of the adolescent boy, older parents with "late" children--all these are reasons why the child should go to the college, to relieve the burdens of childrearing and to ease the problems.

Types of Activities Before They Went to Budapest

One question was: How did you most like to spend your free time at home? Most selected sports activity. (Here I included all activities which indicate regular physical exercise, not only sports conducted competitively.) The kind of replies most often given were: playing soccer and table tennis, swimming, and bicycling. Many also participated in organized sports, such as the village soccer team, or in various school sports circles.

"We always played soccer in the large field on the edge of the village. For a while I used to play ping pong at school... There were several of us chums who used to go out on Sundays to the Keleti channel to swim and go boating. Occasionally we took a tent and slept out. We roasted bacon. Sometimes there were also girls with us and we cooked..."

Reading also appeared as a favorite method of spending free time for significant proportion. "I read quite often at home, nearly every day. I read 4 to 5 books a month, or even more. I had a friend who always recommended books. I read everything that was recommended or appealed to me. 'Tarzan, Son of the Jungle,' for example, I liked very much--how he grew up among the monkeys. Or I also liked the 'Jungle Book' very much; or 'Adventures on a Pirate Ship.'"

In the evaluation of the replies it is apparent that watching television was raised to the status of a favorite way of spending time by only one boy. But only 6 did not watch television on weekdays, and 12 on Sundays. Movies and television will also have significant roles later. In terms of

quantity, we may safely call these two the most significant culture carriers. However, if we also consider quality, then the picture which is common knowledge unfolds before us--the lowest level in everything.

Working at home should also be mentioned, since a large proportion of the students worked at home. It can be concluded from the replies that in most cases they realized the importance of the work, and of the income derived from it. The jobs, for the most part, involved taking care of animals, garden work, cleaning and chopping wood.

"Every summer I worked in the nursery. We planted and hoed. I worked not so much for the money, but rather so that I would not be bored at home. My chums always went also, so we had a good time together."

"I helped to chop wood and sweep the yard. I was always told what to do. I was happy to chop wood because I knew that it would strengthen me. Previously, I kept rabbits, and we had pigs. But I did not feed them because I always confused what I was supposed to feed them, the grits with the bran."

In examining the childhoods of the students, we may conclude that they had much more appropriate possibilities for spending their free time at home than at the hostel. They had more opportunity for play, for outdoor activities, and for spontaneous social intercourse. Although the selection of the rural libraries did not approach that of the college library, quite a few of them learned to like reading. Thus in these areas there was appropriate background for further progress. Cultural disadvantage appeared much more in the areas of the theater, serious music and the fine arts. Very many of the youths arriving in Budapest had never been to the theater, to an exhibit, and had never listened to a complete serious music composition.

Types of Activity at the End of the Second School Year

The vocational school hostel which the observed young people attended was founded in 1976 through the merger of three independent schools, and is located in a neighborhood of workers' hostels and suburban taverns. Its capacity is currently about 1,200, but there are plans to increase it shortly to 2,000. This will make it the country's largest vocational studen home. The area was previously very disreputable, and serious and minor crimes were frequent. The students were just as much at the mercy of the "tubers" [hippies] as of their stronger, more aggressive fellow students. It was hoped that order would be created in the area with the merger. It was also intended to raise the level of the training effort. The students are housed in three buildings which were originally built as workers' hostels. This fact has determined their "material" conditions. The 50 first year students were located on the third floor of the building designated "A". In the rooms there are 8 metal beds, 1 table, 8 chairs and 2 closets. The walls have been freshly painted, but the parquet has come

loose in many places to the extent of half the room. The wash basins and toilets are operable for the time being. It will take several months before they become stopped up and cease to function. By the time the cooler weather arrives, the windows in the lavatories will be broken, allowing the wind and the cold to enter.

The furnishings for each group consists of a study room, a television set, and perhaps a chess set or other parlor game. There are no club rooms, and the possibilities of playing sports are minimal. There are five groups on the third floor consisting of nearly 180 students. (In other places this is the total population of smaller hostels.) The impression of the initial days must be rather important for the days to follow. During the first few days here, beds are assembled, lockers are moved around, and carpets, curtains and bed linens are drawn. Everybody is giving orders, everybody is making demands. The rooms are rearranged several times--not only in the beginning, but during the year as well. No one can be sure of sleeping in the same location in which he slept today.

Ervin H. is a 31-year-old residence master. He has been working at the hostel for 2 years. Previously he taught at a rural school. "The child arrives in Budapest. Suddenly a multitude of regulations descends upon him and he is unable to discern the relationships among the rules. In general, the teachers and vocational instructors enjoy this defenselessness in the student--how he grasps at every straw, is astonished at everything, accepts everything that he is told and can be made to do anything. A short time passes, however, and he very rapidly discovers the teacher's blunders, and very rapidly discovers methods of evasion.

"In several months the child becomes completely without a master. Neither workplace, school nor hostel can provide him with concrete direction. I will risk stating that they do not even desire to provide it. In the rural surroundings they could easily grasp the situation and they knew the rules of the game. Now they are finding themselves in utter chaos. A good example is the situation at suppertime. Someone pushes in front of him in line and he does not dare to say anything. I saw a case where a puny youngster pushed into the head of the line and no one dared say anything to him because they did not know whose friend he might be. Their situation becomes completely obscure. From that moment on, the hostel does not serve them. Instead they become not only the hostel's victims, but those of the capital, the work place, and the school.

"We the residence masters should be creating order out of this chaos. Unfortunately, I discovered in these 2 years that in all areas of our training a complete lack of system is the rule. The chief principle is the change which can be statistically reported--there were so many theater attendances, library books or scholastic achievements. However, no one is interested in what is behind the data. Not only is it unimportant what method I used to convince my group to attend the theater, but even whether we really did attend! If it is noted in the work plan, in the workbook and in the competition notebook, then we were there..."

The size of the home requires factory-like direction: director, general deputy directors, deputy building directors, floor monitors and residence masters. Directives arrive in this way, and the initiatives which are "from the bottom up" proceed back in this manner. There is no viable self-government, and there is no hope for its formation. The function of the KISZ [Communist Youth Organization] is primarily mobilization for various demonstrations.

Our group began its life in the capital under such circumstances. The woodworking industry vocational students were the most fortunate among them. They stayed with the same residence masters for 2 years, and as much as circumstances permitted, managed to establish a certain "local" democracy. They went on many tours and managed to go to several theaters and exhibits. One half of the construction industry students also belonged among the more fortunate. They also had the same residence master for 2 years, and often organized theater visits and sports activities. The rest, when it came time for their second questionnaire, had been through several residence masters. The seed of their ties to the hostel had been extinguished. They spent their free time outside of the walls whenever possible.

During the week, house regulations permit very little time for various free-time activities. During the weekends, however, there is considerable free time. For the most part, during the week only the time between dinner and bedtime can be spent freely. During the weekends, however, complete lack of organization and supervision is the rule. Because of the unresolved evening head counting, there is no absolute necessity even to spend the nights inside. How are the youths managing with the partially restricted, partially lax, time possibilities? What habits, what needs have evolved within them during these two years-spent away from their families.

Sports activities were forced totally into the background in Budapest. The youngsters were separated from the sports organizations at home and have not yet found their way to the ones in Budapest. The only potholed handball court of the college is not able to replace the soccer fields on the village outskirts. In addition, college policy lays down conditions here--good scholastic achievements and exemplary conduct are required to play sports. Instead of stimulating participation in sports organizations, such participation is rather hindered. Play has disappeared from among their activities. Of course, maturing also had a role in this. During the more relaxed moments, however, the suppressed disposition to play breaks out vigorously. One parlor game placed in the study room, or one successful outing is sufficient for this. The number of those who like to read had decreased. Puttering around, primarily because of the lack of opportunity, has disappeared without a trace. The victor is the movie house. After the worn out films of the rural cultural center, dozens of movie houses await the youths, with their deluge of dozens of films. There are some who sit through three, four or even more films during a weekend. The enthusiasts are limited only by their pocketbooks, or perhaps by competition from television. Closely related to attending movies is the second most popular activity

type--doing nothing, loitering. There is also a certain positive side to loitering and roaming around. While doing this it is possible to gather impressions of the city. In any case, however, it can only count as a substitute activity. There is something infinitely depressing about a healthy 16-year-old young man who replies to the question of what he most likes to do in his free time by, "doing nothing."

It is sad how little sensible activity there is in their free time. During the week, watching television and reading are the chief activities. On Sundays, it is watching television again, followed by the movies, roaming around and doing nothing. Work performed willingly and with a sense of responsibility has disappeared from their daily agendas. However, several new activities, such as listening to music and recreation, have appeared. (By the latter we mean the coffee house, dancing, etc.) Thanks to the organized programs of the hostel, nearly all of the students have been to the theater and to exhibits. However, when we examine what is read, what theater performances are preferred, and what kind of music they listen to, we have little reason to be proud. It is apparent that our earlier conclusion is valid: the lowest level in everything. Only the woodworking industry group members managed to go to the then operating 25th Theater, and to the Academy of Music several times. Several of them went to the Bakonyoszlop reading camp, through the influence of their residence masters.

My second questionnaire contained a time study spanning a complete weekend. The previous observations were borne out. Those who remained in Budapest primarily went to the movies, watched television, and visited relatives. In contrast, those who went home helped with the household work considerably, and a good number of them visited public places of recreation.

Let us examine the weekends of several more closely.

Last Friday, George V. left school at 2 PM, ate lunch and went to the hostel where he "sat in his room" from 3 to 4. From 4 to 5 was a study hour followed by housecleaning. From 6 to 7 he sat in his room again. There was dinner at 7, followed by watching television. He went to sleep at 10. On Saturday morning he was at the movies. After lunch he visited his sister's home, where he ate lunch and watched television. He left at 7, arrived at the hostel at 8, watched a film on television and went to bed. Sunday morning he listened to the radio and record player at the hostel. Between 10 and 11 he played soccer. He ate lunch, then slept from 1 to 5. At 5 he ate the cold supper and went out to the movies. He came back at 9, lay down and went to sleep.

Ferenc B. also spent his weekend in Budapest. There was a study period on Friday until 6, after which he went to a disco and did not return until midnight. Saturday morning he was at the movies. In the afternoon from 1 to 4 he loitered around the vicinity of the nearby girls' hostel. He was at the disco again between 4 and 9. From 10 to midnight he played

cards with his roommates. Sunday morning he went to the movies. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon he met his girl friend. The following is noted for 9 PM: "I drank alcohol;" for midnight: "I fell asleep".

Tibor G. went home on Thursday night. Friday morning he went to the doctor for an excuse, although he was not sick. In the afternoon he went to Nagyhegy with his friends, then went to the club with them to play table tennis. He went home at 7, watched television and fell asleep at 11. He rose at 9 on Saturday, went to the sawmill, helped load a wagon with scrap wood, which was taken home and unloaded. He ate lunch at 12:30, went to the store, then went out to the woods with his friends to look for snakes. From 6 until 10 he again played table tennis at the club. On Sunday morning he watched television in bed. At 12 there was brunch. He went to the tavern for beer, then watched television again from 1 o'clock. At 4 o'clock he want to the field to play soccer. At 5, he and his friends went to the cultural center to see the film "Kuldetes," which they did not like and left in the middle. At the club they played records until 8, when he went home, watched television until 10, then read the book, "A Passenger Disappeared," until nearly midnight. He got up at 3:45 AM on Monday and rode the workers' bus to Budapest. He arrived at the hostel at 6, and together with his roommates ate the food he brought from home. When they were full they did not feel like going to work, so they went to the movies to see "Body in the Thames." He returned to the hostel at noon, lay down and went to sleep.

This same boy describes one of his Sundays spent in Budapest. "I rise at 7, eat breakfast and clean the room. Then I go to the movies, come back at noon and eat lunch. From one o'clock I stay in the hostel and either watch television or sleep. There is nothing to do so I lie in wait. The others return from home around 6. Then we begin to eat. We watch a film on television, go to bed where we fool around a while. Around eleven o'clock I fall asleep."

Sandor F. spent his weekend at home in Szabolcs M[illegible]ve. Before he left for home on Friday afternoon, he visited his sister. [illegible]e saw their new apartment and they chatted. At 6:30 he left for the h[illegible]tel, packed his bag and left for the railroad station at 8. He bought his ticket, met his friends and they talked. The train left at 10 minutes to midnight. Soon he fell asleep, but around 1 AM a fight broke out in the compartment. One drunken boy stole his companion's money. The conductor called the police who took the drunken boy to the front and gave him a good beating. They arrived at Mateszalka at 7 in the morning. The next train left shortly thereafter and arrived at Tiborszallas at 8:30. He went home, ate breakfast and chatted with the family. He turned on the television at 9, but fell asleep during the program. He awoke at 3, ate lunch, listened to the radio and watched television. At 6:30 he went to the coffee house and met his friends. They went to a disco where he danced, chatted and drank a while He went home at 11, ate dinner and went to bed. He rose at 8 on Sunday,

watched television in the morning, then went to the coffee house at about 10. He ate lunch and listened to the radio in the afternoon. His return train left at 3:30 and arrived at the West railroad station at midnight. He went to the hostel and went to sleep. He rose at 7 and went to school.

Sandor P. also spent the last weekend at home. He arrived home at 7:30, dropped his luggage and immediately left for the neighboring village where there was a "party." "I socialized with the girls, and drank beer. Three of us left for home on foot at 1 in the morning. I arrived home at 1:45 and went to bed. I awoke at 10, listened to the record player until noon, then went to play soccer. At 3 I went to see the game on the field. Then we went to another village because that is where the party was. My girl friend also showed up and we stayed until 1 AM. I walked the girl half way home, we fooled around some, then I went home. I arrived home at 3:30, ate and went to bed. I had to get up at 5:30 to catch the bus to return. I arrived at the hostel at 8, and we ate. Then instead of going to school we went to the movies... (Together with Tibor F. mentioned earlier.)

The hostel, beyond giving the young people shelter is satisfied with apparent results. It cannot arouse the feelings of a home, cannot create communality, cannot aid in overcoming cultural disadvantages and cannot be the intermediary between the big city and the student.

The integration is not promoted by the institution, and assimilation is hindered by the city itself. The big city is like a magician who always shows only one side of his cape--the world of movies, display windows and subways. He who wishes to penetrate deeper is immediately enmeshed in the trappings.

My questionnaire asked three questions, with the aid of which I had intended to acquire a glimpse of their relationships with the city. Are you a member of a capital city--not hostel or school--sports circle, club or professional club? Do you have any friends in the capital? Do you have a girl friend in the city? Eleven percent replied affirmatively to the first question, 23 percent to the second, and 16 percent to the third. In analyzing the replies, however, it is apparent that these percentages are probably lower in reality. Most of the friendships do not amount to more than participation in a few mutual programs, and sports club memberships seems to spring from momentary enthusiasm. I found no example of lasting and deep friendships between genuine city dwellers and ruralites who live in the hostel. Similarly, serious love between a vocational trainee boy and a city girl develops only in the rarest cases. One of the cases of few visits to clubs and professional groups and the bypassing of sports clubs is the restrictive house rules of the hostel; others are fear of unfamiliar surroundings and lack of contacts.

We quote the views of several youths. Bela B.: "I don't know. These Budapesters appear to be very conceited. Perhaps the problem is with me,

but as far as I am concerned, they are conceited. They practically look down on us because we are from a village. They nearly ostracize us. Some are made fun of because of their speech, and we are baited in all different ways. I have a few chums at school. Sometimes we go to the movies or to look around. But I have never been to any of their homes and have never been invited."

Bela D.: "I have not yet had a Budapest girl friend... One needs a glib tongue for that, and maybe I cannot learn to turn a phrase like the Budapesters. Womanizing went better at home than here. We have been to discos a few times, but we failed there also. When we asked someone to dance, we did not know whether we would be attacked or not, since we are not very husky fellows. We asked a couple of girls to dance, girls who were not very attractive and whom we would not even notice at home. They were city girls and they said no. They did not say it, but they surely thought it. We could sense that they kept trying to get away from us... We are also looked down upon in class, even by the teachers. It is somewhat painful, but we do not care any more. All of the fellows have their programs, so it is not possible to make friends with them. Good friendship can be expected only from our fellow residents and no one else."

The road to the city and to the city dwellers--no matter how paradoxical--is found most easily through the subways. The difference between the country folk and the city dwellers are more easily blurred in the world of the "tubers". The recourse of withdrawal from society otherwise arouses feelings of belonging together.

Laszlo S.: "I came to Budapest, made friends with a couple of fellows on the Blaha and became a 'tuber'... I feel more comfortable with them than with anyone else also because of the solidarity, because what is theirs is also mine. There is an old man who has no relatives, and who is practically supported by the 'tubers.' Because of this, we can sleep at his place. Sometimes there are as many as 20 of us in his apartment, and at least 12 are women. These are tuber girls. Everything goes on there; drugs, sex, drinking--everything. In the morning I go to school and they go to the Blaha or to the movies. But if I should meet them anywhere, I am always invited along. If I have something to share, I also invite them. The good thing is that whenever I go out I always find someone I know. Right away time passes much more pleasantly."

One Year After the Skilled Worker Examination

Two more years passed. During this time, most of the students passed their skilled worker examinations and went to work. One significant event did take place, however, at the end of the second school year. The "B" building renovation was completed, and the complete renovation of "A" building was begun. The students were divided into two groups. The "good" trainees were moved into the newly renovated building, while the "bad" ones went to the

even more unfavorable circumstances of the "C" building. The same selection method was also used for the residence masters. Thus two camps emerged--the elite, well behaved group, and the remainder who showed poor performance in everything. Those who ended up in the "C" building felt that the discrimination was prejudicial, and during the remaining year did everything to validate the judgment made about them. (The residence masters certified themselves by doing nothing, and the students by breaking the already lax rules by fighting, stealing, and in several cases, by more serious criminal acts.) In the "penal colony" where approximately three quarters of our 50 students ended up, all earlier accomplishments were quickly destroyed. Although a few of them tried to maintain their relationships with their previous residence masters by going on outings and to the theater with them, the majority were lost in the vacuum which resulted from disorganization and neglignece. Those who went to the renovated "B" building also fell into a trap. The autocratic leadership there nipped individual initiatives in the bud, and the strict house rules encouraged them to seek their individual well being outside of the hostel walls.

Under such circumstances all of them looked upon the skilled worker examination as salvation. In the "C" building such wild enthusiasm was manifested that several 10,000 forints worth of damage resulted. (Shattered lockers, window frames hurled out and broken up wash basins.)

The institution did not assume even a nominal responsibility for assisting with the problems of finding and beginning employment. The goal and the practice was to rid themselves of the trainees as quickly as possible before they did any more damage. If the students were not aware of it earlier, they most certainly now realized the fundamental truth here: the hostel is not operating for their good, but rather needs them only so it can operate. (One of the reactions to this realization is the annually recurring destruction, from which, strange to say, no one is drawing the proper lesson.)

Our young people may choose from among the following possibilities; they may remain in Budapest and move into a workers' hostel, or they may go home and accept the disadvantages deriving from the more limited employment possibilities there. I sent the third questionnaire by mail and received only 22 replies. Of these 22, only 7 went back to work in their villages or in their vicinity. The rest all accepted employment in Budapest. Four commute daily to the capital from distances of 30-60 kilometers. Three are living with relatives in Budapest. One is renting a room. The majority who remained in Budapest have ended up in the workers' hostels.

We may read many works about the life and double life in the workers' hostels. (Katalin E. Csaplar, 1976; Sandor Veres, 1979, etc.) Those who were sent to the hostel because of family problems are also in unfortunate circumstances, since they have now returned to the still unresolved problems.

The parents of Laszlo J. were divorced when he was still small, and his mother raised him by herself. While the boy was studying in Budapest his mother remarried. Last now feels that he was manipulated and pushed out of his previous position. "My family problems were not only not resolved, but have become more complicated. Mother had a heart infarction because of the quarreling. I am not on speaking terms with my stepfather. I cannot find a position in my profession here, so I am working as a worker's helper. I do not want to move back to Budapest because that would be a victory for my stepfather. He very much wanted me to leave home. We even got into a fight. I have not been successful in any of my endeavors. I could not get a position in my field, and I could not adapt to the life here. I am now living without a purpose..."

The parents of Istvan L. were also divorced. Pista first worked in Budapest, but could not stand the workers' hostel for more than two months. He moved home. Soon thereafter he had a quarrel with his mother. Since then he has been "floating" among his three sisters. "There is always some problem. I just get out of one and step into another. Right now, for example, I am completely vulnerable. No one is taking advantage of me here, but no one helps me either. When I have a problem I have great difficulty in even finding someone to listen, let alone be interested in it. I have no ties, I just subsist. Every day I go where I think it is best for me. It is not a question of my going crazy, but rather that I discover something new every day. I do not know why all the new things are the way they are, and what their sources are. Perhaps my eyes are just beginning to open..."

My last questionnaire contained several questions pertaining to the feelings with which they are looking back on the hostel, and how good they consider the work being performed there. Unfortuantely, most of them gave standard replies such as better food, hot water more frequently, more frequent outings, etc. Similarly stereotyped replies were given to the question of what kind of advice they would give to the current freshman--whether he should listen to the residence masters, whether he should try to adapt, etc.

The replies of two young men, however, are thought-provoking. The previously quoted Istvan L. writes: "He should observe the atmosphere for 2 to 3 months. During that time he will discover what, where and when something can be manipulated in such a way that no one is harmed while he himself benefits." Another young man, Marton K. writes: "At first I would inform the freshman of the hostel requirements. Later, however, I would tell him that it is not necessary to observe the regulations, but rather that he should get in good with his residence master."

And how did the spare time activities turn out "out in life?" The life styles of those in the workers' hostels changed the least. They are working, living and engaging in recreational activities with people of approximately the same disposition. The youth who comes home from work tired watches television, goes to the movies, perhaps goes to the hostel club, or simply lies down on his bed to rest. Those who went home to the

villages of their parents are continuing their childhood pasts in many respects. They help around the house, they watch the soccer matches on Sundays, then they drink a few mugs of beer. In both groups a sobering up, a growing up is characteristic. The loitering and doing nothing have disappeared. At the same time, the desire to "be outdoors" has also ceased. For many the period of frugality has already begun, wherein they are placing their salaries and the income from occasional work into savings accounts. For several the thought of establishing a family in the near future is already present. Dancing, recreation and dating have come to the forefront. The love of reading has declinéd further, and there is no longer any trace of attendance at the theater or at exhibits.

Ferenc V. learned the insulation trade and lives in a worker's hostel. He describes his life: "In the hostels we went to the theater, but somehow that has stopped now. I do not feel much like going alone. I do not want to go in blue jeans so I have to get dressed up, and I have to straighten myself up. I consider a performance, whether I will like the play or not, because I am unfamiliar with it. It is no use asking my fellow workers because they know less about it than I do. I may go to see the play and not understand it. Who can I ask what it was trying to convey? The same situation exists with outings. I had good friends at the college. Together we decided to go towards Csillaghegy. So we hiked for a good while, made a fire and roasted bacon. We enjoyed ourselves the entire day. I miss this. I even tried to convince the brigade at work to have an outing. I organized one to the Danube curve. What happened? The ticket was purchased so it could be posted in the brigade diary. Of the 30 only 7 went. The seven, in truth had a good time--by evening they were drunk! We went up to the fort, looked around, then--up and into the tavern! Then one more mug, then another! We barely made the boat...

The friendships in which everyone knows everyone else do not exist at the hostel. I go into the club. If there is a vacant seat at the card game I ask if I can sit in. Then I play an hour. In general, I listen to the radio, or I read. Recently I discovered mysteries, but occasionally these bore me also. After 50 to 80 pages I can generally figure out who the murderer is. I check the ending. If the murderer is who I think it is, the book no longer interests me..."

Istvan Sz. went home to his village after his trade examinations. He married and moved in with his mother-in-law. "My work in KTSZ [Artisan Cooperative] lasts until 2 PM. Then I take my time in packing my belongings, get in my Trabant and go to work, or rather go to work for myself. Sometimes I work until 8 or 9 PM. Then I go home, take a bath and forget my tiredness. I eat dinner with my lovely wife, she relates the events of her day, then we go to sleep. Sundays are the same. I would rather not work on Sunday, but when one starts to work on his own, the clients are always in a hurry for the jobs. My wife also works often on Sundays,because she is a nurse. Thus we rarely have a whole day together. Sundays are not like they were at home when I was a child. On Sundays dad used to climb into bed with us and fool around. Even the radio sounded differently when I was a child..."

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KSS 'KOR' DECLARATIONS ON MEAT PRICE INCREASES, STRIKES

KSS 'KOR' 11 July Declaration

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] Warsaw, 11 July 1980.

On July 1 a major price rise on meat and smoked meat products was instituted without reporting this fact to public notice. On July 2, the deputy chairman of "Spolem" [Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives--CZSS] on the TV news gave information about the rise referring, however, to a much narrower range of products than that of a day before. On July 4, work establishment cafeterias and some stores in many areas of Poland were returning to earlier prices on nearly all articles that had become more expensive 3 days before. In other parts of the country, cafeterias and stores kept the new prices unchanged. Subsequently, to this day, price fluctuation has continued. For example, new prices were introduced on July 1 in the Warszawa steel mill cafeteria. Old prices were in effect between 10 o'clock and noon and new ones between noon and 2 pm on July 3. At 2 pm on July 3 and throughout July 4 the old prices were in force, and since July 5 to this day the new prices have applied. On July 9, an advisory session of party and economic activists was held on July 9 in Warsaw. The price rise was announced to be maintained, although in a narrower range than the "Spolem" deputy chairman's statement seemed to indicate (two kinds of meat, slab bacon and some kinds of poultry and canned meats). An announcement was made that so-called old-portfolio retirement would be increased next year along with substantial increases in family allowances and lowest earnings. The authorities withdrew a price rise, introduced it again in limited form, and promised higher wages--all of this under pressure from worker protest and demands supported by threats of strike and strikes. At this time, we have information about strikes in 14 work establishments (Warsaw steel mill, FSO passenger car factory in Warsaw, Ursus mechanical factory near Warsaw, WSK Mielec, WSK Swidnik, POLMO Tczew, ZELOS in Piaseczno near Warsaw, ZFLMOT in Warsaw, Rzeszowski Kombinat Budowlany W Dabrowie Gorniczej, the meat plant in Grudziadz, department K1 angle shop at the Gdansk shipyard, the Roza Luksemburg factory in Warsaw, TOMED in Poznan, the rolling mill plant of Cegielski

factory in Orsa. In five work establishments, demands were made to withdraw the price rise, in eight, higher wages were demanded and in one (FSO), demands were placed for higher wages and lower prices. In all places where higher wages were demanded, the managements promised a raise. Workers' commissions were established in three departments of the Ursus mechanical plant and written guarantees were obtained from the management that no one would come under repression for participation in the strike. The Ursus work force demands a regular cost of living supplement. Strike actions continue all over the country.

We stated in our declaration of July 2: "The KSS 'KOR' is in full solidarity with the strikers and appports their demands. We put especial emphasis on our support for the cost-of-living supplement proposed by the strikers. The most effective and nationally the least hazardous form for the workers' insistence on their own and the nation's interests in by becoming organized in their work establishments, democratic elections of independent worker representative bodies to advance demands on behalf of plant crews, conduct discussions with the authorities and guide crew actions in a responsible yet resolute manner. Plant crews must become aware that solitary action alone can bring positive results. Above all, the authorities cannot be allowed to initiate any persecution whatsoever of strike participants and persons who indeed are, or are imagined by the authorities to be, leaders of worker protest."

A heedless investment policy followed by the authorities in the 1970s and an agricultural policy that caused a critical situation in farm produce supply combined to produce a veritable economic disaster. A factor of importance is also the price system, in force for several decades though incorrect and incompatible with economic laws. Yet this price system can be remedied only as part of a radical change of the entire economic system which is unreasonable, wasteful, inhibitive to progress and ruinous to employee morale. The workers are charged with poor performance, rampant loafing and underutilization of work time. These things happen, however, not because people do not want to work. The reason lies in the economic system itself and in its incentive system. The workers are not responsible for shortages of raw materials or stoppages in factory work caused by electricity cutoffs. The PZPR tries to burden society with responsibility for the party's own mistakes, incompetence and incomprehension of economic processes. A price-system modification can be accepted only if it comes as one among minor measures in a sweeping economic reform. Admittedly, the fundamental cause of the crisis is the Polish authorities' policy of many years under which decisions are made outside of society and economic reforms are replaced by provisional measures. All adverse consequences of these measures are suffered by the people, especially the poorest segments. It is imperative immediately to undertake energetic steps necessary to salvage the country from disaster.

1. The economic system and decisionmaking mode in matters concerning society as a whole must undergo a drastic change. The KSS "KOR" provides

no statement on the directions of such reform. We are convinced that these can only be determined by a nationwide decision. It will probably take account of reform proposals drafted in recent years by independent social institutions. There should be also a clearly defined governmental reform program with a published schedule of implementation. Otherwise, the authorities' temporary measures will meet with ad hoc response actions of particular segments of society.

2. Because current tension is directly caused by the market situation in foodstuffs, mainly meat, the policy ruinous to family farms, chief producers of food, should be instantly discontinued. Private ownership of and freedom to sell and buy land should be guaranteed. All forms of farming: family farm, cooperative farm and state farm must be treated as equally legitimate in the area of supply, sales, pricing, credit, taxation and legal protection. Private farmers should be allocated a substantially greater, justified, proportion of fodder concentrate and other means of production supplied to the agricultural sector.

3. Until the change in farm policy yields desired increases in food deliveries to the market, and if government authorities are unable to insure supplying consumers with meat available in stores at regular prices, commercial prices should be abolished and a universal meat rationing system should be instituted, that is, with ration cards and at prices prior to 1 July 1980.

4. It is necessary to publish complete data on the economic situation, in particular, on Poland's debt, and on the meat balance (total production, consumption by individuals, collective consumption and foreign trade).

5. It is of utmost importance that the discussions and negotiations we are facing be held with composure and their results be an expression of the position of all segments of society. The authorities must be made to understand that they will not evade negotiations with the people. To a certain degree, it is up to the authorities, however, whether these negotiations proceed in peace or in a climate of aggravating strife.

True to its goals, the KSS "KOR" calls for attention, above all, to the need to restore fundamental civil rights. They were guaranteed under the Human Rights Pacts which are in force in People's Poland. The authorities' compliance with these rights will create possibilities for reaching consensus on most urgent economic, political and social reforms. Employee rallies should be enabled to establish worker commissions, employee commissions, independent labor unions and other representative bodies which would be able to defend employee interests. It should be made possible for citizens to become organized to fight for their rights and to advance and implement initiatives geared toward society's good. To make this easier, the act on assembly and association should be altered. The Labor Code should be changed, particularly, Article 52, Section 1, should be repealed as it

provides for discharge from work for participating in a strike. The right to strike should be legally guaranteed.

Conditions must be created for nationwide discussion of the country's situation and on how to escape from it. Aside from purely economic factors, one of the principal causes of the present economic situation is the gagging of society by censorship and the state monopoly on mass media: the press, television and radio, which permits an artibrary and myopic ban on the voicing of genuine opinion current in society and even on pronouncements of experts if regarded as inconvinient. In this manner, both the public and the authorities are deprived of any control whatsoever over the country's situation, while persons cognizant of economic and social life can reach neither the authorities nor--no less important--their fellow citizens with their views and reform proposals. Retention of this status quo prohibits discovery of ways out of the impasse, thus enormously multiplying the risk of a disaster. Access to mass media should, therefore, be allowed to independent experts, views of employee groups and independent organizations should be made public, and prosecution of independent publications and periodicals should be discontinued. In the overall national interest, preventive censorship should be abolished and a press act should be introduced specifying the mode of courtroom protection of military secrecy and of the interests of private individuals. Repression of persons involved in independent social and political activities should be discontinued. Authority of the Citizens' Militia and Security Service should be reduced. The courts should have their autonomy restored to them. Political prisoners should be released immediately.

Above, we have specified the minimum requirements formulated for a long time that must be met to make possible a nationwide debate of the present situation and to reach consensus between the people and the authorities.

The KSS "KOR" appeals for support of these postulates by all of society and especially by work crews who will be able to submit them in the course of impending negotiations with the authorities. We should not be appeased with a partial withdrawal of a [price] rise or partial compensation won by major plants only. Such concessions will not improve the national existence especially in the most impoverished segments. At issue here is not only the maintenance of a tolerable standard of living; it is of exceptional importance to restrain the process of decay of state and society. The authorities; irresponsibility does not release us all from responsibility toward our country.

In keeping with its goals, the KSS 'KOR' will provide assistance to all those suffering repression for taking part in strikes.

Account by Dissident Strike Participant

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] A special issue of ROBOTNIK, published in early July, contained an account by a KSS "KOR" associate participating in the strike at Ursus, along with the July 2 KSS "KOR" declaration promptly reported by daily newspapers in the West.

Below we print the above-mentioned strike participant's account in full and a complete text of the 11 July KSS "KOR" 11 July declaration.

The strike at Ursus mechanical factory began on Tuesday July 1. Second-shift workers went on strike in several departments, the immediate reason being a rumored price rise. Tension mounted because of the lack of official information. There was no meat in the plant cafeteria on Wednesday. Other production divisions successively joined the strike on that day and on the following day. Work continued at all times only in two departments: the casting plant where the furnaces can be destroyed if abruptly put out, causing lossess that go into millions, and the electric heat and power generating plant supplying energy to the town and factory. The course of events on July 3 had a similar pattern in all production divisions. The employees would halt work, disconnect their machines, and form groups in their "nest areas" to start preparing their demands. The scope of the strike gradually expanded, with some management representatives and PZPR activists taking action. They approached worker groups with appeals to resume work, referring, in the case of party members, to their party consciousness, all in vain. Certain activists were exceptionally active. Master foreman Krasniewski from the chassis department threatened his subordinates with recourse to a prosecutor, and master foreman Piowierz from the engine assembly department with disciplinary dismissal. At the same time, the management took steps to isolate the strikers by cutting off all outside connections to the plant and locking gates in individual divisions. Telephone cables were disconnected so that the divisions were unable to communicate with each other.

The strikers in the PS engine assembly department elected a 10-person delegation. The PB chassis department elected 20 men to their delegation. The workers of the PR repair and power department organized a strike meeting, wrote down their postulates and elected a seven-person strike committee. The management attempted to take control of the situation by organizing briefings for master foremen, brigade leaders and shunters who were then to appeal to the workers to resume work. As this produced no results, the management and department chiefs began discussions with the delegations or whole crews. Initially, the management seemed to believe that it would be enough to inform the employees that workers in the West are even worse off and give vague promises of a raise of from 1.09 zlotys and up for those who merit a raise. In most departments, the second and third shifts joined the strike.

The strike was continued the next day. The situation developed somewhat differently in the PB department where an efficiently operating strike committee put forward the strikers' postulates in writing: 1) to increase the hazardous (work supplement) from 0.5 zloty to 1.50 zlotys per hour; 2) to add 10 percent for second shift work; 3) to increase wages so as to compensate for the price rise and to introduce a regular supplement for the growing cost of living. The management was given 2 hours to consider these demands. When this period had elapsed, the plant manager, first secretary of the local party unit and department chiefs appeared. For starters, threats were offered as usual. The secretary said that employees are not irreplaceable and they had better remember that. In response, the workers added to their postulates a demand for a written pledge that nobody would be persecuted for participating in the strike. The manager promised to present their demands "on top" and called for resumption of work. Because no one budged, he pointed his finger at workers he was familiar with and appealed to them by name. This was a crucial moment. Nobody broke down, and it became clear that the strikers were bound to win. The management promised to respond to the damands in 2 hours. It was the management's wish to have the strike committee change its name because of the ill-sounding word strike. The strikers agreed for their representatives to use the term workers commission during negotiations. While awaiting the response, preparations got underway to halt work in the power plant. The forge shop manager was warned to terminate technological processes on time because power supply would be interrupted. Two hours later, acting director in chief Szymczak arrived with the plant manager, party secretary and someone unknown to all strikers. The discussion resulted in the management's pledge to fulfill demand No. 1 and demand No. 2 in a week's time, and demand No. 3 by August 15. Written guarantees that there would be no repression for participation in the strike were denied. The strikers voted not to end the strike until such guarantees are obtained. The management yielded at 4:30 pm.

The next day, on July 3, director Szymczak again came to the factory and affirmed that all the demands would be fulfilled and increased wages would cover the period beginning 1 July.. Bonuses for piece-rated work would be additionally increased by 10 percent. Union employees would be paid according to schedule V (a raise of approximately 400 zlotys). Additionally, a 5-percent bonus and permanent master foreman supplement were granted. On the same day, the management began negotiations in other departments. In the PS department, the management made a decision about wage raises beforehand, in an effort to avoid a meeting with the workers' delegation. That decision was transmitted by master foremen, brigade leaders and shunters. The workers received a 10-percent bonus and a 150-zloty master foreman discretionary allowance. Meetings with the workers were held in the PB and PC departments. The raises were similar to those in the PS department. The PB department additionally achieved replacement of schedule III by schedule IV. Extra concessions were also won in the PC department. Soon after, actions were taken in all the departments to resume work.

Meat Price Increases

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] (This article was published in the 14 July 1980 special issue of the KSS "KOR" periodical "GLOS" in connection with a wave of strikes in Poland.)

The meat price rise was ushered in through the back door. The authorities are now retreating from it under pressure.

The strikers are receiving wage raises. Those who cannot strike, retirees, pensioners and employees of small plants are forced to accept higher prices. This is what the authorities are counting on. They hope that society at large would be successfully saddled with new prices and the whole scheme would pay off on balance. This policy of intimidation, understatement and conman cleverness has no chance of success. The confusion resulting from differing prices being in force will cost the economy more than the raise was expected to yield. Bonuses for strikers, rather than comprehensive political and economic solutions, promise frequent recurrence of the strike wave in the next few months. The present status is, however, better for the authorities than reforms would be. It is a logical continuation of the present mode of governance. The Gierek strategy was based on Western loans upholding the communist system of management and governing unchanged.

Today, with no loans in sight, everything is crumbling. What will come next? What will the new crisis bring to Poland?

The authorities want no reforms. No wonder! The communists bear the sole and total responsibility for the present status quo. For 35 years they have ruled above the people's heads and counter to the people's aspirations. Meantime, they ruined agriculture, vital for the country's food supply, they destroyed the crafts and service sector, and disorganized industry by commanding it from behind their Central Committee desks. It is hard to assume they would again be given a credit of trust. At this time, there is no possibility for resolving the crisis unless society is allowed into power.

The workers are not demanding reforms but wage raises. This is understandable: reforms have been promised many a time and each time they proved to be the most meager. Unless the present ruling system is changed, we will remain stuck in a vicious circle.

For this reason, the workers bear a tremendous responsibility at this time. They hold the country's fortunes in their hands. Much depends on what they will be able to win today. Much, including Poland's regaining her independence in the future. Let us not delude ourselves: regaining independence is impossible for a weak and disorganized country whose society divested

of every right, can only rebel, but cannot cogovern. This is precisely what we have to recapture today: the capability to cogovern.

The KSS "KOR" formulated postulates for imperative changes in its 11 July declaration.

First, the situation in the meat market must be stabilized. If it cannot be achieved otherwise, a rationing system should be introduced with meat prices prior to July 1 and commercial stores should be eliminated.

Publication of complete data on the country's economy and a prompt end to the destruction of private farming are imperative.

Subsequently, a nationwide discussion should be initiated on the solutions to the present critical situation and the shape of an economic system to bring it to health--even if at the price of immediate expenses.

For this to become possible, fundamental political guarantees are indispensable: freedom of association and strike, freedom of the press, restoration of the rule of the law by curtailing authority of the Security Office, and warranting autonomy to the courts. Reforms will be impossible without these guarantees. A renewal program can be realistic if the nation proves capable of forcing guarantees for the rights listed above.

At this time, the authorities have no program other than continued reduction of the standard of living, but the domestic situation can induce them to make political concessions if social pressure is sufficiently strong.

The timeserving policy pursued by the authorities thus far is increasingly costly to all of us, but concurrently, it gives us a spell and an opportunity to organize independent labor unions and other representative bodies of the people.

Similar opportunities do not come about too often. We will achieve only as much freedom as we win in struggle.

8795
CSO: 2600

LESZEK MOCZULSKI INTERVIEWED ON OPPOSITION IN POLAND

Vienna PROFIL in German No 34, 18 Aug 80 pp 26-27

[Interview with Leszek Moczulski by Peter Stein: "It Will Be a Hot Autumn"]

[Text] PROFIL: Are you not afraid to give us an interview ? Do you not fear the consequences ?

Moczulski: One can get used to anything, including going to jail. When you have been arrested 18 times in 6 months, one more arrest makes little difference.

PROFIL: For the past 4 years there has been talk of a Polish opposition. Can you provide some specifics: how strong is the movement ? What kind of a movement is it ? Is it socially oriented or politically oriented as well ?

Moczulski: In a totalitarian system like Poland's more or less everyone who is independent of the source of power is in the opposition. For instance, Stefan Olszowski, who was a member of the Politburo until a few months ago is a member of the opposition now that he holds the post of ambassador in East Berlin. The same holds true for Piotr Jaroszewicz, the former prime minister. But what you are interested in is the free, independent movement in Poland which has become very active in recent years. Essentially, this movement is made up of three different groups. The first of these is the intra-party opposition which goes under the name of "experience and future." It consists primarily of party intellectuals. They accept the party as the leading power in Poland and believe that the right solution for Poland lies in minor intra-party changes. They reduce the difficult situation in Poland to economic factors alone. This is enough of a reason for their being unable to bring about any change in Poland, however slight.

The second group includes large segments of the intellectual community --scientists, journalists, writers-- most of whom have existed in a kind of symbiotic relationship with the party over the past 35 years. This relationship afforded them the opportunity to publish books and articles, to do scientific research and officially take the title of intellectuals. This is the way it is in a country where not even a foreman can be appointed without party approval. The most important man in this group is Jacek Kuron, a member of the KSS KOR (the Committee for the Self-Defense of the Workers). All members of the group are in favor of far-reaching socio-political reforms in Poland, but within the framework of the existing system. One could charaterize them as Polish Dubceks.

The third opposition group in Poland, which is the largest, is led by me and is called "Confederation of Independent Poland." Our main goal is to achieve independence for Poland. In contrast to the two other opposition groups, we categorically reject communism. Communism is foreign to and hostile to Polish tradition, mentality and interests. We are opposed to the Polish CP as an instrument of Soviet domination in Poland. But this does not mean that we wish to achieve our aims by force with the help of a revolution or insurrection. We are for a "revolution without revolution," which means that we are working quietly step by step to reach our goal. Between them, the second and third group of the opposition have about 15,000 members. In a country of 35 million inhabitants, that is not much, unfortunately.

PROFIL: There are strikes all over Poland. It is often said that there are social reasons for them. Are they politically motivated as well.? What is the extent of opposition control or even organization of the strike wave ?

Moczulski: At the moment, there are strikes taking place at 150 Polish factories. In about two-thirds of these plants our people are participating, but in no case have we joined in on organizing the strikes. As it happens, this most recent wave of strikes in Poland is quite spontaneous. Without a doubt, the situation was brought on by the price increases. But it would be wrong to think that the strikes are merely socially motivated. That is what the Polish [illegible]ers believe and they also believe that economic reform [illegible]ake the place of political reforms. But they are to[illegible]l wrong. It is true that we do not have enough meat and food as such; but what we miss most of all is democracy and the feeling of being masters of our own house.

PROFIL: 10 years ago, strikers were fired upon in Poland; 6 years ago, they were merely arrested. This year, there are strikes throughout the country and the demands of the strikers are being met. What is the reason for this difference in approach ?

Moczulski: There are two reasons for the authorities yielding-- based on domestic and on foreign policy considerations. There is a military force in Poland numbering one million men whose sole purpose it is to hold down their own dissatisfied people. Theoretically, this force is capable of stamping out the opposition in a matter of a few hours and to re-establish complete control over the situation. But this raises the question of the foreign policy consequences of such an action. It is an open secret that all East bloc countries are living off credits from the West. They are borrowing more and more money all the time. Just one year ago, Poland had to obtain Western credits to the tune of $ 5 billion and this year the Polish economy must have $ 8 billion to keep from collapsing. At least that is what the official estimates by Polish economic experts come to. In addition, there are the Russian needs for dollars. As a consequence of the invasion of Afghanistan, the Russians themselves are almost unable to obtain Western credit or Western technology. So, if the Polish strikers would have been dealt with as brutally as in 1970 and 1976, the last hope for Western aid not only to Poland, but also for Russia would have been lost.

PROFIL: Do you mean to say that the dollars are going to Russia by way of Poland ? Is there any proof of that ?

Moczulski: That is the way it is and it has been throughout Poland's post-war history. Since the start of the Afghanistan crisis, the situation has gotten more acute. The strikers themselves found proof when they opened up refrigator cars in Ljublin which were destined for Russia. Poland has always been a transit point for Western goods and technology going to Russia. This also applied some years ago to the German war reparations: steel pipe was transshipped directly to Russia and used there for the construction of a pipeline.

PROFIL: In case there should be an uprising, are you afraid the Russians will intervene as they did in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 ?

Moczulski: The Polish government is spreading this very story in the West, particularly in the United States and in the FRG. It says that an uprising is imminent and that the Russians would intervene with armored units in case it took place. This, it says, could have catastrophic consequences not only for Poland, but for the whole world. The Polish army and the population would certainly fight against the Russians. Logic therefore requires the West to extend even more economic help to Poland. But this line of argument is politically faulty. The fact is that the Russians do not need to bring armored forces into Poland; they have been stationed inside the country since the end of the war. The Russians have no economic or political interest in military intervention, at least given the present situation. They need a respite now in order to deal with their own national, social and domestic problems. They are involved in all of the Asian conflicts-- in Afghanistan, in China, Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Iran etc. They need to have peace and quiet in Europe. There is a great deal to lose here. But, if there should be a Soviet military intervention, it will have a bloody and tragic ending-- not only for Poland.

PROFIL: Is there any other way open to the Russians to control the situation in Poland aside from using tanks and intervening militarily ?

Moczulski: Of course. The Polish CP is the surest instrument of Russian control over Poland. In a sense, Russian reaction to the strike wave in Poland has been evolving for several months. Thus, official circles are now discussing the possibility of legalizing the strikes. The Russians, that is, have learned in the meantime that liberalization is more likely to produce results than military intervention.

PROFIL: Do you mean to say that further strikes may actually bring about a significant democratization ?

Moczulski: Yes, and this we consider to be our most important task. We must force the rulers to yield in those fields which are of the greatest use to the people. I am certain, for example, that censorship in Poland will be abolished in the coming months. Our most important aim, however, is to set up independent works councils in all factories. Ultimately, there should be a network of independent labor unions in Poland. That is, as I mentioned before, our way of making a "revolution without revolution."

PROFIL: Recently, there has been talk of a young generation in Poland. The names of Olszowski, Zabinski, Kurowski, Ciosek are being mentioned. Do they stand a chance of taking over the posts of the present party leaders ? Can they bring about any changes ?

Moczulski: First of all, this "young generation" is not all that young-- practically all of them are over 50. Even if they did assume power, they could not change anything. The main problem all East bloc countries face is that there are no young up-and-coming politicians. There are no real personalities, due in no small measure to faulty, communist education. Every Polish prime minister invariably turned out worse than his predecessor. Compared to his two predecessors, the present one appears ridiculous. Every succeeding party chief turns out to be more of a political primitive. Edward Gierek, the present one, is no more than a civil servant, who does not have the faintest notion of politics.

PROFIL: Are there any real personalities among the opposition ?

Moczulski: The opposition consists almost entirely of real personalities. But in the present situation, there is no point in coming up with personality alternatives. Things have not progressed that far as yet.

PROFIL: What are the prospects for the immediate future of Poland ?

Moczulski: It will be a hot autumn. The strike wave will spread. If the government yields by moving toward democratization, economic conditions will also begin to improve. We know that we have to tighten our belts. We are prepared to do so because it needs to be done. But the price we ask is democratization.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. P 27. Opposition leader Moczulski (below with Polish dissidents: "The Communist Party of Poland is an instrument of Russian domination.")

94/8
CSO: 2300

ITALIAN CP OFFICIAL STRESSES COMMON VIEWS WITH RCP

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 35, 28 Aug 80 p 8

[Interview with Giorgio Napolitano, member of the Direction and secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, by Florin Velcu: "The Romanian and Italian Communists Share Numerous Common Positions"]

[Text] [Question] During your visit to Romania you met with the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. What can you tell us about this meeting?

[Answer] This meeting is part of a periodic exchange of information between our two parties. It was devoted, in particular, to international affairs and to the activities of the two parties. We noted a common concern for the threat which is being manifested to detente and peace while, at the same time, agreeing that the possibility of reducing tension has also appeared. We were in agreement on the need for initiatives, for a movement of opinion in favor of an East-West dialogue which would promote the solution of serious problems which remain open and serve as causes of tension and conflict, which cannot help but alarm us today.

[Question] We would like you to discuss RCP-PCI [Italian Communist Party] relations, a topic discussed during the talks.

[Answer] These relations have been very cordial for a long time and the meeting with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu represented a confirmation of their excellent status. Our party and the Romanian Communist Party have taken similar positions--for example, when we considered that the Paris Conference was insufficiently prepared for and not organized in a satisfactory manner and we decided not to participate in it; at the same time, the two parties stressed that participation or failure to participate in a meeting does not and should not influence relations among communist parties. I believe, in this sense, that relations between the Italian communists and the Romanian communists are developing in a positive way because the two parties feel, to the same extent, the need to act outside all rigid schemes for the relaunching of detente. There has been intense international activity on the part of the PCI and, as always, there has been intense international activity

on the part of the RCP and on the part of President Nicolae Ceausescu, personally. He has had numerous meetings and contacts with representatives of various movements, parties and governments.

[Question] How do you characterize relations between our states, Romania and Italy?

[Answer] It seems to me that, in general, interstate relations, economic, commercial and cultural relations between Italy and Romania can be evaluated positively and I would like to point out an interesting fact. Recently, the secretary of the Christian Democratic Party and a delegation from this party and also the secretary of the Italian Socialist Democratic Party were in Romania to meet with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. We view this as positive, regardless of the political differences which our party has at this time with the Christian Democrats and with the Socialist Democratic Party; we are clearly in favor of the developing of all useful contacts for a policy of better understanding between Italy and Romania and, in general, for a policy of detente.

[Question] A final question: What is the position of the PCI toward the coming meeting in Madrid?

[Answer] We consider that this meeting has profound significance and that its importance and value might exceed all expectations because it is taking place at a time of very serious international tension. We believe that great attention should be given to the orientation of the proceedings of the Madrid meeting; that it is necessary, in particular, that there be a correct defining of its mission so that a rush of too many topics and too many demands can be avoided. At the same time, I must note that a topic of great importance, in connection with which the meeting can serve as the occasion for very very useful discussions, is the subject of disarmament, of negotiations for the reduction of arms in Europe. We know that at the present time, a dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms race is going on in Europe; this tendency must be blocked and the path to negotiations must be opened up, especially in the matter of the so-called "European strategic weapons" or "European missiles." Therefore, we will work so that the Madrid meeting will make a concrete contribution in this area.

CSO: 2700

CONSEQUENCES OF POOR TRAINING OF WORKERS EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jun 80 pp 14-18

[Article by Andrei Gutan, sociologist at the Knitwear Industry Central]

[Text] The unprecedented powerful increase in our country's production forces, naturally, has great social implications, bringing profound changes to the structure of society. The massive investments made for the accelerated development of industry, transportation, agriculture and services are bringing the continual redistribution of the labor force between the basic branches of the economy as well as between the various branches and subbranches of industry. In such a vital context, a true "hunger" for a labor force with appropriate qualifications has been demonstrated and, in turn, this has caused the creation of varied forms of vocational training, starting with the higher educational institutions, specialized high schools and vocational schools and ending with the qualification achieved in the enterprises.

From the start it should be stressed that through the variety of training forms we are seeking to satisfy the many objective demands raised by economic life. This means adopting flexible methods and forms for training the worker personnel which answers the specific demands of everyday activity as fast and as well as possible.

Although in recent years great strides have been made in the direction of qualification for the labor force, a series of data resulting from the sociological investigations which I have made show that one of the important forms of vocational training, that is, the qualification achieved in the enterprise, does not in all cases correspond to current demands. And this is both with regard to the organizational framework as well as acquiring of the knowledge needed for the good development of production activity. This statement in particular has in view some branches and subbranches of light industry.

With regard to the consequences, they have repercussions on the rapid integration of the new employees in the labor collectives and also on the stability of the worker personnel, thus causing disturbances in the enterprises' economic activity as well as large material losses.

I shall attempt to provide arguments for what has been stated above, proceeding from a concise examination of the content of the training and ways by which the qualification of worker personnel in the enterprises is carried out.

Defects in Training--A Source of Problems

The first aspect I am subjecting to attention is the quality of training for the new employees with regard to mastering the knowledge they need with a view to carrying out production activities. (In order to understand the following correctly and to clearly define the area of investigation, I must specify that the qualification in enterprises is for those categories of worker personnel whose training generally is between the 4th and 10th grade, excluding the graduates of the first step of the specialized high schools, and those who have not followed any other form of vocational initiation outside the enterprises.)

In 1979 I did research on labor force mobility; one of the variables under which the problem was analyzed was precisely school and vocational training. Approached from this perspective, the structure of the labor force analyzed is presented in this way*:

Table 1

Training	4th grade	7th-10th grade	Vocational school	High School	Post-high school	Higher Studies	TOTAL
%	12.2	67.9	9.4	9.3	.7	.5	100.0

(High school means any type of high school--general culture or specialized--while the category of 7th-10th grades means the general culture high school.)

The above table permits several important findings with direct implications for the enterprises' activity. The first finding is that the greatest portion of worker personnel--that is, 80.1 percent--is qualified in the enterprises. From here we see very clearly the special importance which must be given to this system of training.

A second finding is the fact that 12.2 percent of the personnel I have included in the research have school training of up to 4th grade, while the 67.9 percent actually includes the category of training between 4th and 7th grades, also. Thus, we have the conclusion that a rather large portion of worker personnel do not have a sufficient stock of general cultural knowledge when they come to the enterprise. Under these conditions, the later vocational training of these people in the enterprise will take place with difficulty, particularly if we bear in mind that, besides gaining certain knowledge and practical habits, the educational programs include the assimilation of theoretical concepts.

* The figures refer to the 7,384 workers in enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Light Industry.

This is because it is well known that the general level of training for students directly affects the level and quality of any instructional-educational process.

Especially under conditions of the current rapid technical progress, the lack of general cultural knowledge hinders assimilation of educational programs specific to the qualification in various trades. One of the direct consequences of such a situation is the slow integration of the new employee in the labor collective, marked by difficulties in adaptation or even failure to integrate, given the fact that the result of poor vocational training is failure to fulfill the production quotas, with direct consequences not only on the individual wage but also on that of the colleagues, due to extension of pay by the job. Inevitably, these aspects unfavorably influence the interhuman relationships in the labor collectives (relationships between members of the labor collective, between heads and subordinates and so forth).

Proceeding from these types of findings, one may explain why, for example, the indicator of intensity of departures from the enterprises is 7.4 percent, while the indicator of intensity of actual fluctuation is 8.9 percent. The laborious development of the very process of integration as well as the various demonstrations of phenomena of lack of integration or even of rejection of the individual by the labor collective result from the analysis of seniority of the persons moving in the enterprises:*

Table 2:

Seniority in the enterprise	1-3 months	4-6 months	7-12 months	1-3 years	4-6 years	7-10 years	More than 10 years	TOTAL
%	20.3	16.1	14.2	26.0	12.1	6.2	5.1	100.0

Thus, a simple calculation shows that 50.6 percent of the total persons moving leave the enterprise before fulfilling 1 year of activity, while 76.6 percent leave the enterprise before fulfilling 3 years of activity.

But the poor vocational training is merely one of the causes for fluctuation of the labor force, also being added to this certain organizational defects, such as the nonexistence of specialized personnel in certain cases (sociologists and psychologists) who would carry out the orientation and vocational selection of the workers depending on their aptitudes, the lack of specialized apparatuses needed to test the worker personnel, poor exactingness from some of the ones appointed to head the vocational training in the enterprises or to certify the quality of the qualification obtained. It is graphic that, due to the fluctuation of the labor force, the 32 enterprises involved lost more than 34 million lei in a single year.

As a result, one may state that, at least in some sectors of activity, worker personnel are not being selected, guided and trained so that each worker

* The situation refers to the 32 enterprises mentioned.

can cope with the production tasks under good conditions. Sometimes, even when the decision-making factors in the enterprises realize that the ones coming to be hired for certain jobs do not have either the training or aptitude for that vocation, they still decide to accept and qualify them by virtue of the principle that "no matter what, a job cannot remain unfilled."

But what happens in the case of hiring a worker for a job that does not correspond to his training and aptitudes? I will take into consideration a hypothetical situation, in the end examining the effects of the way to proceed in the selection and training of cadres.

So a job was filled and, thus, at least theoretically, it is possible for the plan distributed by the particular equipment to be fulfilled; a man received a job with which it is supposed beforehand he will cope; a worker will be qualified and will enjoy all the rights due him in relation to the quantity, quality and social importance of the work done. As a result, an economic, legal and political act was undertaken consciously in full agreement with the legal and human laws for our socialist society.

However, what are the consequences in case the labor force does not correspond qualitatively? A job was held by a man lacking the necessary qualification and aptitudes and who would have been much more suited to another job or another enterprise; as a result, the plan distributed by the equipment in the case will be fulfilled rarely and, in particular, with difficulty (from the viewpoint of physical as well as mental effort); distribution (pay)--since it is carried out according to the quantity, quality and social importance of the work done--is changed into a disadvantage, since the worker's earnings will be affected; the enterprise will have the average planned number of workers covered only in writing, but it becomes doubtful whether it will succeed in fulfilling all the plan indicators. In addition, besides the irrational use of the labor force, the enterprise will spend money to qualify them (and not always with the efficiency anticipated) and for raw material from which it does not have the guarantee that the result will be quality products and so forth. Really, in such a situation, can one speak of an economic, legal and human act useful to someone?

If we add to the above the consequences resulting on the personal, individual level, for most of the people employed in jobs for which they do not have the aptitude, the conclusion is clear. It is not accidental that the phrase "the appropriate man in the appropriate job" has become so accepted.

There is another aspect, too. The enterprises rarely have important and multilateral information available on the human factor, information, of course, chosen in an organized and systematic way. I have in mind a type of information other than that encountered in the personnel offices or the public organizations, that is, information of this kind: the sociovocational structure of the personnel, degree of integration into the labor collectives, the int rhuman relationships in the collectives, the formal and informal circulation of information, the sociovocational path (evolution of the worker personnel and so forth, information which cannot be collected without the aid

of specialized personnel, that is, sociologists and psychologists. Such information is indispensible to a thorough knowledge of the problems specific to the human element, while the lack of it brings out the failure of decision-making factors in the enterprises, centrals and ministries to understand the real importance of the problem of the qualification and most efficient possible use of the labor force, in the end their being the producer of material goods.

Whereas theoretically noone disputes the importance of the human factor, actually the attention of many enterprise leaders is directed predominantly toward technical production problems and only tangentially to the psychosocial problems in the labor collectives. In some cases it is simply incomprehensible how a unit leader who turns off a light he finds burning in vain, rightfully thinking of the money being thrown away, does not undertake anything even if millions of lei are wasted each year because the labor force is accepted, guided and trained inappropriately. While in the cases where there is some concern with such problems, often they try to solve them by resorting to personnel from other specialties (engineers, economists and so forth), if there are no psychologists or sociologists, who carry out improvised activities of ergonomy,psychotechnics, psychology, industrial sociology and so forth).

Fluctuation--Effect and Cause

Sometimes it is thought that the ones moving generally are the less serious people, a reason causing their "pilgrimage" from one enterprise to another. What is more, sometimes included in this category are nearly all categories of workers who leave the enterprises. There is nothing more mistaken than this view. And, yet, most times the true ones who fluctuate are not separated from the mass of workers who, for one reason or another, a well-founded reason, leave the enterprise. With a view to facilitating the deepening of the phenomenon, several theoretical definitions and definitions of terminology are required, even at the risk of a somewhat more didactical approach.

The first term which must be taken into consideration is "the movement of personnel" or "mobility of personnel," by which we mean any movement of personnel: entrance, exit, change in job within the same enterprise, regardless of whether it means a change in that person's sociovocational status. Thus, in this case, the implications at the macrosocial level do not enter the sphere of concerns.

The second term is "normal movement of personnel," which has in mind changes in the job--either motivated socially or representing the results of objective conditions. It is a matter of those persons who leave the enterprise for reasons such as the interruption of activity for child care, military service, retirement, transfer in the interest of the job, reduction in activity, deaths.

The third term, "actual fluctuation," means a change in the job within the

same enterprise (internal fluctuation[1]) or even a change in enterprise--a spontaneous, unforeseen change with negative consequences for the industrial unit and often for the individual. Included in this category are those persons leaving the enterprise as a result of cancellation of the work contract due to absences without leave or other disciplinary deviations, transfer upon request, carrying out criminal punishments and so forth."

Yet, it should be stressed that the fluctuation of personnel is the result of a series of factors which depend either on the individual or the enterprise. The direct cause depending on the individual, generally, is his failure to achieve on the vocational, personal and social level, failure to fulfill the production quotas and, thus, reduced pay, conflicting states which may appear in some labor collectives and so forth. Many psychosociological analyses, unfortunately, stop here, feeling that these reasons are enough to explain the behavior of the fluctuating worker. But a more profound study of these aspects leads to the conclusion that, at least partially, there is a "cause of causes" and this is the insufficient degree of instruction and education.

It is true that there is a great variety of reasons calling those who leave an enterprise, but they are not always the real reasons for departure of the fluctuating workers. In many cases we must cope with a "masked" fluctuation also to a great extent caused by inappropriate vocational training. We feel that these aspects are of particular interest for the administrative and political leaders of the production units.

In the 32 enterprises where I did my investigations, the structure of normal departures were as follows:

Table 3

Reason	Interruption for child care	Military service	Retirement	Transferred in interest of job	Reduction of activity	Deaths	TOTAL
%	53.5	8.4	11.3	22.4	3.7	0.9	100.0

Theoretically, the reasons in Table 3 are justified socially, with the legislation in effect providing certain duties for the enterprises with regard to these categories of worker personnel. However, some graphic findings result from the practice of industrial sociologists.

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1. We do not have available data on internal fluctuation, because, due to the nonexistence of specialists in social problems, nobody in the enterprises has records on this kind of personnel movement.

2. Details on reasons in specialized literature is done depending on the goals sought and thoroughness of the analyses. For example, the following reasons are provided in the work "Fluctuation of the Labor Force" (editor, Dr Honorina Cazacu), Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishers, 1979, page 61: 1) Transfer on these persons' initiative; 2) Firing; 3) Cancellation of labor contract on the enterprise's initiative.

Sometimes some persons' reasons (for example, leaving the enterprise to care for children) corresponds to the facts. Sometimes such a justification is supported by the person's real wish to find another job, while the reason is based on the legal provisions which require the enterprise to rehire him in case he requests it. As a result, if he does not find a more convenient job, he may return to his initial activity at any time.

Another finding refers to the exaggerated percentage of transfers in the interest of the job (27.4 percent of the total normal departures of personnel). Actually, what is hidden under this means of leaving the enterprises? Does the large number of these transfers, in proportion to the needs for the labor force, justify such a percentage? The truth is that often the transfers in the interest of the job hide certain conflicting aspects between some of the workers and enterprise leaders, with the latter ridding themselves of t[illegible] 'undesirables" in this way. Thus they resort to a "little way out" which is convenient for both parties.*

Proceeding from the sociological research I have done, one may maintain that we again find the insufficient level of vocational training in the "subtext" of the various conflicting situations, to which we add some organizational problems. And it is clear that conflicting reasons which would cause so many personnel to leave cannot exist where the labor process is taking place under normal conditions.

Especially since the insufficient vocational training is an important reason for the actual fluctuation. In this case, the reasons for leaving are structured as follows:

Table 4:

Reason	Absence without leave	Request for transfer	Firings	Criminal penalties	Other disciplinary deviations	Other reasons	TOTAL
%	53.7	8.4	33.6	0.9	3.0	0.4	100.0

Without going into detail, we note the large number of cancellations of work contracts due to absences without leave (53.7 percent of total persons moving) as well as firings (33.6 percent of total). At the same time, given the high percentage of persons moving up to 30 years old (around 80 percent), one may deduce that among the causes for this situation are insufficient adaptation and failure to respect work discipline by a rather large portion of the employed youth as well as their failure to know the legal means for leaving the enterprise.

Particularly in youth from the rural areas who come to train in industry do we encounter such educational shortcomings, sometimes grafted on the feeling of vocational lack of achievement as a result of insufficient qualification.

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* Sociologist Aurel Musat, following research done at the Tricodava Enterprise in Bucharest, also reached similar findings.

Youth and trade union organizations do not always make efforts to know and solve the problems specific to this catetory of worker appropriately in order to assure them continual education and vocational advanced training so that they gain new knowledge and habits for disciplined work in accordance with the requirements of activity in an industrial enterprise.

Yet, regardless of what means, why do such a large number of young workers leave the enterprises? Of course, some have well-founded reasons--changing their residence, marriage, leaving for studies, child care and so forth. However, others--by no means a negligible portion--leave the enterprise because they are dissatisfied with their vocational achievement, the earnings they receive and the work climate.

Proceeding from the real premise of the existence of almost unanimous wish of the youth to be employed in work and assert themselves vocationally and socially, the investigations I made, in agreement with other research of this type, show that the absence of such elements of satisfaction cause the desire of the youth to leave the enterprises. One of the most effective ways to approach and solve youth problems is precisely to improve the system for training and qualifying them within the enterprises. It is not an accidental finding that 80.1 percent of those moving have inappropriate vocational training. Sociologist Aurel Musat arrives at a similar conclusion in the research I mentioned earlier: "Their vocational training (of the youth--editor's note) being poor, they arrive at poor achievements in production with conflicts and dissatisfaction due to reduced pay and, in the end, they move." In the same regard, we observe in another work: "It is clear that the representative type of actual person moving in this situation is the young, unqualified worker."[1]

Thus, we have reconfirmed the conclusion that the main reason for the fluctuating behavior, particularly of youth, is poor quality in the vocational training taking place in the enterprises.

Quality of the Labor Force and Economic Efficiency

Examination of the listing of trades[2] in which workers are trained through courses for qualification in the enterprises leads to certain considerations connected with what was stated earlier. Naturally, under conditions of the progress recorded by all degrees of education in recent years, in accordance with the provisions of the listings, the minimum level of school training required for admittance to courses for qualification organized in the economic units is 8th grade. The relatively recent generalization of 10th-grade education will make it necessary to raise this minimum level in the future.

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1. "Fluctuation of the Labor Force" (editor, Dr Honorina Cazacu), Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishers, 1979, p 66.

2. Listing of trades attached to Ministry of Education and Instruction Order 6011/1978.

Just as for other industrial branches, the listing provides only those trades in which only those who have completed at least the 8th grade for light industry, also. But, as I was able to determine during the research carried out in the 32 enterprises of the Knitwear Industry Central, there are rather broad categories of worker perosnnel who request a job, although they possess a school training below the level of the minimum requirements imposed by the listing. What really happens with this category of applicant ?

Within the limit of available places, they are employed either as unqualified workers or in order to be qualified in less demanding trades. It is normal for it to be like this, even if the legal framework is exceeded in this way. However, how is this matter actually being carried out? Let us suppose that a person who graduated from the 6th grade, for example, requests a job in light industry. The acute need for the labor force almost in itself suggests a solution: The applicant is permitted to be qualified in the enterprise in the trade of a textile spinner precisely because this trade does not appear on the list. In this way the letter of the law is respected but, however, not also the spirit of the law.

A problem of principle arises here. In light industry, as in other branches as well, there is a great demand for labor force with a better and better qualification. For that reason, without lowering the requirements no matter how little, it is necessary to find the most appropriate means of selection, guidance and vocational training. Added to this is the need to use forms and means for flexible and differentiated qualification in agreement with the requirements of modern industry but also with the applicants' school training.

There is no single means for training for various trades. In some enterprises there is a school workshop, in others there is an aggregate school and there also is the rather widespread practice of assigning the new employees to a vocationally well-trained worker with seniority in the enterprise and one who, "it is supposed," possesses teaching skills.These forms for qualification which are so diverse natrually raise some questions: Which of these means really is the best? And if one proves to be the most effective, why is it not being generalized?

The various consequences of shortcomings in the training and rational use of the labor force are encountered on the common platform of large material losses. As I showed, the fluctuation of the labor force from the 32 enterprises which were the subject of analysis brought losses of more than 34 million lei in a single year. The losses due to failure to fulfill the production quotas by a portion of the worker personnel as a result of inappropriate qualification is not known, losses which, regardless of the amount, should closely concern those whose duty it is to assure maximum efficiency of economic activities.

It is unquestionable that the scientific substantiation of decisions regarding the recruitment, qualification and integration of the labor force involves an interdisciplinary approach to the entirety of psychosocial problems in the

enterprises on the basis of systematic research which provides the most faithful possible picture of socio-human relations correlated with the requirements for assuring minimum efficiency of production. Only such a total approach carried out with means of research specific to the area investigated permits a multilateral and thorough knowledge of the numerous aspects involved, this also being the only rational means for correcting some inappropriate states of affairs.

Extrapolating on a broader plane, I feel that with relatively small material efforts it would be possible to organize a network of laboratories of psychosociology, offices for school and vocational guidance not only in the enterprises but also in the educational units and in the labor force directorates and offices. In this way conditions could be created so that the selection, guidance and vocational reorientation as well as knowledge of human problems in all their complexity and profundity correspond fully to the technical and social progress characteristic of our society.

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BRIEFS

BANI-SADR CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the occasion of Romania's liberation anniversary, I take pleasure in conveying to your excellency my warmest congratulations, as well as wishes for personal happiness and for continuous prosperity for the Romanian people. With greatest consideration, [signed] Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [AU270944 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 80 p 5]

KARMAL GREETS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the happy occasion of Romania's national day, I take great pleasure in extending our sincere and cordial congratulations to you, dear comrade, to the RCP, the government and the fraternal Romanian people on behalf of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. I am convinced that fraternal relations, friendly ties and cooperation between our parties and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen in the interest of our countries and of peace in the world. Dear comrade, please accept my wishes for personal happiness and for new successes and prosperity to the friendly people of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Signed] Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan and president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. [Text] [AU280923 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 80 p 3]

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ORIGINS OF CURRENT SOCIAL CONFLICTS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1536, 8 Jun 80 pp 18-20

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Are We Afraid of Conflict?"]

[Text] Does the word "conflict" frighten us?

Even the most prodigious systems and ideologies of a conflict-free society cannot long conceal the differing interests of groups, individuals, nationalities, strata and classes. A concealed conflict usually ends in an explosion.

A society which sees human happiness as its long-term goal must see all the economic, historical and social differences that exist and detect the degree to which desires differ from possibilities and construct mechanisms for the expression and conflict of interests.

Rural and urban areas, the haves and the have-nots, the productive and the unproductive, the educated and the uneducated, the employed and the unemployed, nationalities, regions, and strata, those who have power and those who do not, peasant sandals and shiny street shoes, these are all potential sources of conflict.

Our society takes pride in having begun to build mechanisms in which all these differing interests, desires and possibilities will be expressed. But it should not stop even here; it is not enough for all these conflicts to merely express themselves freely and collide. It is also necessary to study their nature and patterns and possible origins.

On the Dynamics of Political Bureaucracy

These are some of the points which were stressed at a forum organized last week by the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the journal VIDICI [HORIZONS]. The topic was this: "Contradictions in Social Development and the Subjective Socialist Forces." One of the issues examined most frequently was the method of "managing the conflicts" which arise out of those contradictions.

As Dr Vucina Vasovic said in the debate, we lack both a developed theory of social conflicts and also a mechanism for managing conflicts. According to Vladimir Goati, one of the reasons is that we do not have a single good "panorama of the interests at play in Yugoslav society."

Zoran Vidojevic, who wrote the introductory address, attempted in some 80 or so typed pages to analyze the most acute contradictions of our social development.

Their source, he believes, is not the so-called "basic cell" of society, is not the organization of associated labor. The analysis should take as its point of departure the movement of surplus labor, the character of its use and distribution. The decisive centers of economic and political power are located outside these "cells."

"It is a question of domination by the political bureaucracy and technocracy in the system of expanded reproduction. This is the 'class formula' with which one can detect the essence of this process," Zoran Vidojevic writes.

Under present conditions the decisions on capital investment projects are not made by the producers, but by monopolistic power centers. Regional political exclusiveness results from the aspiration for complete economies in the republics and provinces; everyone would like to have everything.

Capacities of the same kind are duplicated, and relations of competition and exclusiveness (in production and distribution) are becoming stronger instead of establishment of associations and links.

The organization of labor has remained the same except for the increase in the number of supervisors, "industrial noncommissioned officers," in the production sector of the economy itself. The movement of specialists from production to nonproductive activities is becoming more intensive. Over the last 10 years the number of employees in the social services and government agencies has increased 55 percent, and in the financial sector it has increased even 82 percent!

The accelerated growth of the administration, Vidojevic says, corresponds to the ever greater governmentalization of production relations, the dependence of the productive sector of the economy on the sphere of government policy and on its own superstructure.

Under the real relations between the government and self-management, the state has up to now always been the stronger side. There is good reason to say, he says, that the contradiction between self-management and statism is being exacerbated more and more.

Neither centralistic nor decentralistic statism can resolve any of the most important issues of our society, neither the issue of relations among the

nationalities, nor achievement of equality and independence and authentic community spirit of the parts and the whole.

Conflicts Between the Workers and "Technostructures"

The political bureaucracy, Vidojevic says, is the strongest faction within the bureaucratic-technocratic groups because of its political power and governmental authority in the overall social framework. Below it on the ladder, according to his diagnosis, the conflicts between the workers who are the direct producers and the "technostructure," the managers and specialists in production organizations, are often very severe. However, the causes of these conflicts are very complex; they cannot be reduced to a set formula to the effect that self-management is being "usurped."

In the context of the erosion of the material foundation of self-management, uncertainty in the conduct of business, uncontrolled economic developments and the ever greater influence of the government and banking complex on the flows of reproduction, the "technostructure" is frequently unable to do what it is responsible for. Providing the resources for simple reproduction, paying high interest on credit, raising labor productivity, and technological progress--these things are all primarily in its "jurisdiction."

However, even when the technostructure consists of competent personnel and does not behave like a power over and above the direct producers, these conflicts occur. The workers, the direct producers, dissatisfied with their status, see the management team as principally to blame for the unfavorable or difficult situation even when the causes of that condition are largely, and not so rarely even primarily, of an external nature, Vidojevic says.

Stojan Tomic raised the question of how to explain, for example, the conflict or contradiction between man and things in certain socialist countries? How is socialism to be liberated so that in it things do not have greater importance or greater value than man? There is a certain logic here, Tomic says. A poor society does gravitate toward things, toward an abundance of things, which is not bad in itself. The rub comes when the pursuit of things becomes an end in itself.

Large Differences

Tomic drew attention to the conflicts that break out because of the uneven development from one place or community to another. When reduction of the differences is insisted on for 10, 20 and 30 years, but they increase, then this is certainly a contradictory situation. In this way utopias arise in the development of a society which wants to diminish differences: an illusion is created that it is possible to overcome them in 5, 10 or 15 years, but at certain points the differences are greater than before the war. The level of employment, for example, is 19-fold higher in opstinas at the top than in those at the bottom (2.64 percent in one and 51 percent in the other), and the illiteracy rate is sixfold higher in those at the bottom.

"It seems to me," says Vucina Vasovic, "that a highly contradictory situation prevails when we look at our aspirations, our goals and our real capabilities.

"For example, we set up a system of a very free articulation of interests and demands, this kind of system develops people's expectations, very high aspirations, expectations that the real situation can be rapidly altered through political activism, but the real possibilities do not allow this. The question is the extent to which this can be an additional cause of new contradictions and of an intensification of certain conflicts."

One of the important conclusions, it seems, is that self-management would remain imprisoned within the confines of bourgeois society if it were reduced solely to free expression and confrontation of all existing interests. The awareness of the essential goals of the community is also important.

At this point in the debate space was specifically devoted to the role of the vanguard or, as it is put, the "subjective forces"--the League of Communists, the trade unions, and the SAWP.

Group and Individual Egoism

These are the different paces gone through in the debate which concerned itself with many issues--from moral dilemmas (Manojlo Brocic: "I insist on the term 'morality' because this is precisely the self-liberation and the essentially human attribute by which one can recognize a socialism and communism that has a human face")....

... to dilemmas as to whether our self-management and life have not been excessively regulated.

In conclusion let something be said about the conflict of individual group and general interests. This conflict, it was said, finds its way even into the practical activity of political organizations. It is not an isolated phenomenon, Vidojevic said in his study, for certain political leadership forums to defend exclusively their own interests and the privileges they have acquired.

Group and private egoism penetrate even into the working class itself, into those parts of it which are in a more favorable position.

The problem of realizing the joint and truly general interests of the class and society as a whole is moving into the foreground of the topical issues of society and the realization of overall self-management. The forces tending toward exclusiveness and partialization are very strong. However, they are not anonymous.

These contradictions may become exacerbated and may result in a crisis of social development, he says. A crisis is not anything negative in and of itself. The essential thing is whether it creates the possibilities for a new step in development of the revolution.

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Oct. 1, 1980